THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

VOL. XI NO. 5 SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1974 25¢



INDICTMENTS AGAINST SAN QUENTIN SIX DISMISSED

SEE STORY PAGE

INSIDE



See story page 3

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Editorial

SAN QUENTIN RULING CHALLENGES GRAND JURY SYSTEM

Black and other oppressed victims of unrepresentative grand juries fill the prisons in this country. The dismissal of the murder indictments against the San Quentin Six last week opens the way for the review and possible dismissal of grand jury indictment convictions of an army of Black inmates in prisons today.

For this reason the racist, "law and order" forces that control the police and prison authorities throughout this country will make a supreme effort to have the Judge Vernon Stoll dismissal reversed. Such a reversal would assure the conviction of the San Quentin Six and sanction the long-standing practice of deliberately excluding Black, Spanish-surnamed, working class and poor people from grand juries.

The only way Judge Stoll's historic decision has a chance of standing and, for San Quentin Six brothers to look forward to an end of this particular political persecution, is for every court in this country to be flooded with challenges of the racial and socio-economic composition of grand juries that drew up indictments resulting in convictions.

No Black lawyer or movement lawyer worth his salt should ignore this opportunity to institute legal actions toward the reversal of countless convictions based on the recommendations of a non-representative grand jury. The cases need not be searched out. They are everywhere. One need look no further than the grand jury itself and to every Black person for which an indictment was drawn up.

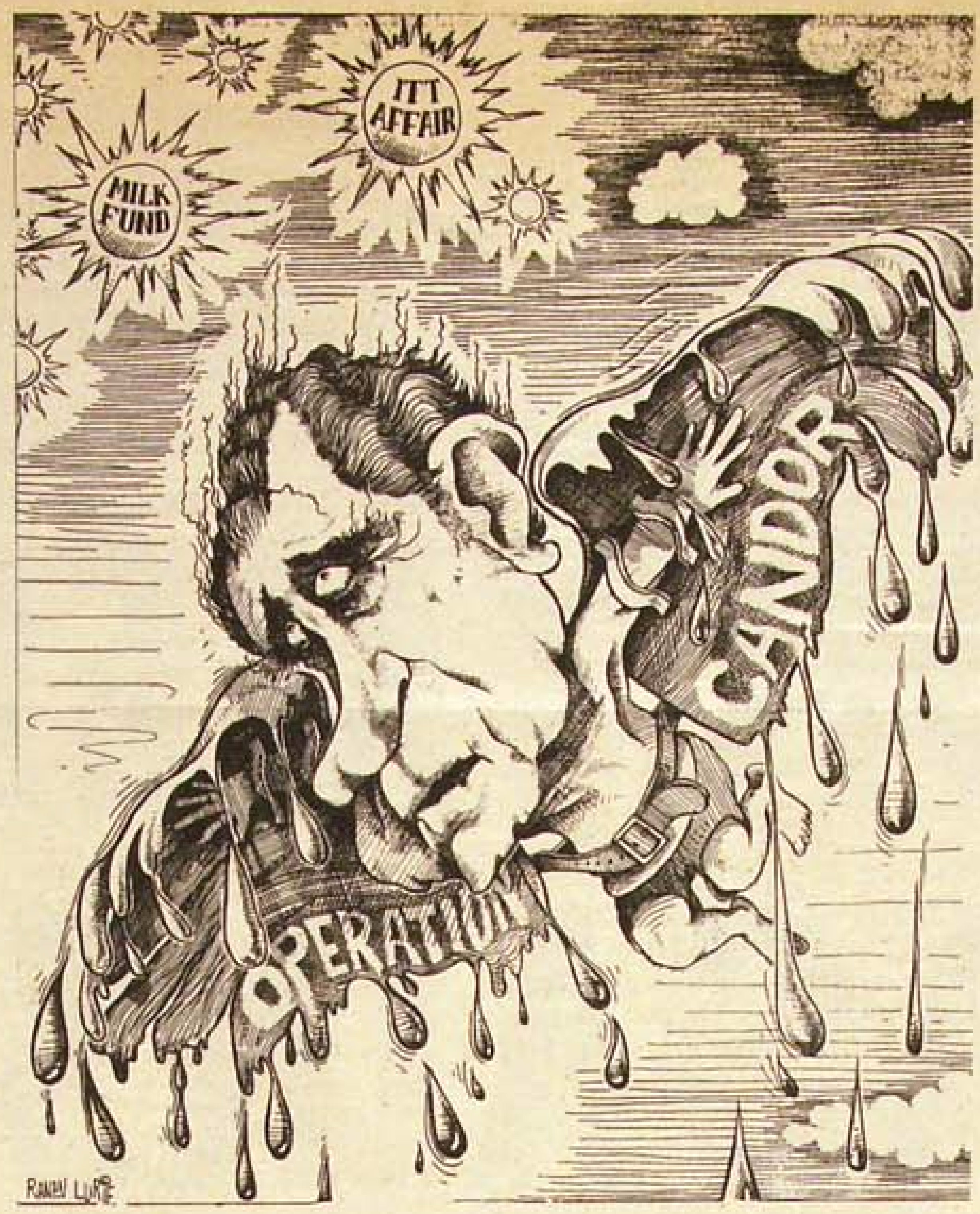
The issue is fundamental to the entire judicial system of this country. Its resolution will indicate whether this country shall move posthaste into a total police state or reverse this trend and begin the march upward and forward to the popular democracy of all our dreams.

The massive movement into the courts to challenge every grand jury indictment would force serious examination and drastic alteration of the entire jury system of this country, and particularly the grand jury system, so :hat juries accurately reflect the total community.□

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, 8501 EAST 14th STREET, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621, TELEPHONE: (415)638-0195.

YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $8.75. APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE RATES PENDING IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA



Letters to the Editor

Dear Comrades:

I'm on my second years' subscription to the Panther Paper and I consider it a vital publication for anyone wishing to gain additional perspective on the news, at all levels. I believe the paper has improved much since I first subscribed a year and a half ago; I especially like the editorials and comments. In fact, at this time I have only one complaint.

I sincerely believe an effort should be made to get every issue to subscribers and to get it to them on time. I don't necessarily expect to get the paper before I see it on the streets, but I do expect to get it at least prior to the date on the issue, or possibly a few days later. My first year I would get the paper as much as 3 weeks later, sometimes more. I renewed my subscription to the paper for the reasons I gave earlier and hoping the service would improve. It's only gotten worse. Since I renewed my subscription last summer, I don't think I've received 10 papers, all at least as late as before.

As I stated, I enjoy the paper very much, but should the service continue as is, needless to say, I will have to learn to live without it. Sorry.

Tom Taskonis
Racine, Wisconsin

(NOTE: We regret all delays in the receipt of subscriptions and we are working hard to get our paper to you on time. But, please remember, dear reader, we are totally dependent on the human and material resources of the Black Panther Party for distribution of our paper. Those resources are not unlimited, but they are growing every day. Please bear with us!)

Comrade:

On August 5, 1973, seven (7) Black inmates and myself were charged with the death of a white inmate in what was termed a riot.

I write you to inform you that we are scheduled for trial in early February and that we are to be represented by a white court-appointed public defender who we believe is indeed not a proper counsel for us.

We have little or no faith in him and seriously doubt his credibility to act in our behalf.

Even though testimonies of state witnesses is flagrantly conflicting, we are charged for murder nonetheless.

We wish our plight to be known to all concerned.

In Blackness,
Joseph Graier
R1-N14
A-08747
P.O. Box 747
Starke, Florida 32091

(NOTE: See THE BLACK PANTHER, October 6, 1973, for the story. We urge interested persons to contact the writer of the above letter for information about the case. We urge lawyers or legal workers in the area to inquire into the case at Florida State Prison. Don't let these seven brothers be "legally" lynched!)

COMMENT

FOSTER KILLING AND PRISON REFORM

The assassination of Oakland school superintendent Marcus Foster is being deliberately linked to the inmate movement for reform in California prisons. The purpose is to direct existing community anger over the brutal murder of Dr. Foster toward prison militants in order to justify intensified repression of politically active inmates, lock-up, segregation and denial of parole.

The San Francisco Chronicle reported last week that three of the four persons being held or sought in connection with the Foster murder had all visited inmates in California prisons. The inmates visited were variously described as "troublesome", "revolutionary", "militant" or "one who had been associated with militant and revolutionary activities".

The paper also wrote: "There also have been persistent reports of a suspected connection between the Symbionese Liberation Army and the August Seventh Guerrilla Movement." The Symbionese Liberation Army claimed responsibility for the Foster murder. The August Seventh Movement is alleged to be a prison inmate organization which takes its name from the events of August 7, 1970, at Marin County Courthouse when Jonathan Jackson made his bid for freedom.

This is another attempt to link Black militants with the Foster killing. The first attempt which described the assailants as "Black" and later as "olive or tan" has been completely undermined with the latest developments in the case.

The Foster murder was part of a conspiracy to turn the Black community against itself. But the Black community of Oakland did not fall for the scheme. Now the attempt is to turn the Black community against our militant brothers and sisters inside the prisons through the Foster killing. We must not let this happen. We must defend the right of those inside to organize and act for their humanity.□

Write Us

THE BLACK PANTHER is your newspaper, so let us know what you think about the opinions expressed in our columns. Write us. The Editor and staff are eager to know your reactions. As space permits we will share your letters with our readers.

INDICTMENTS AGAINST S.Q. 6 DISMISSED

GRAND JURY DIDN'T REFLECT COMMUNITY

(San Rafael, Calif.) - In a precedent-setting victory over unrepresentative methods of grand jury selection, a judge last week dismissed the San Quentin Six court case. Ruling that the means used to select the grand jury did not assure a fair representation of Blacks, Latin Americans, blue-collar workers and the young, Judge Vernon Stoll threw out of court the false indictments against the Six.

Judge Stoll's decision came at 4:00p.m., on Thursday, January 17, ended months of intermittent and stormy pre-trial hearings at the Marin County Courthouse here, site of a special constructed courtroom containing a warped, bullet-proof plastic window which separated the spectators from the defendants. In this courtroom the Six were forced to sit chained and shackled to their seats like vicious animals during the lengthy hearings.

Johnny Larry Spain, Hugo Pinell, Fleeta Drumgo, David Johnson, Willie Tate and Luis Talamantez became known as the San Quentin Six when the state charged them with murder, assault and conspiracy in connection with the August 21, 1971, incident in which San Quentin Prison guards murdered Black Panther Party Field Marshall George Jackson.

Prison officials alleged that George Jackson and the six others killed two guards and three White inmate trustees in an attempt to escape from the prison's Adjustment Center.

Marin County District Attorney Bruce Bales said he would appeal Judge Stoll's decision to quash the indictments against the Six to the state Court of Appeals.

During the hearings on a suit filed by famed criminal trial lawyer Charles Garry, representing Johnny Larry Spain, five present and former Marin County Superior Court judges testified about the methods they used to choose the members of the 1971 grand jury. Before the grand jury voted to indict the Six, three grand jurors walked out of the secret proceedings, charging the grand jury was too dependent on the advice of the prosecutor. One of the three later resigned from the grand jury in protest.



HUGO PINELL



JOHNNY SPAIN



WILLIE TATE



FLEETA DRUMGO



LUIS TALAMANTEZ

[DAVID JOHNSON not shown]

Fleeta Drumgo is the only one of the Six now technically eligible for parole. Attorneys for the brothers said they will now try to get the Six moved from the extremely inhumane San Quentin Adjustment Center back into the general prison population.

Judge Stoll's landmark decision stated that the pool from which the grand jury that indicted the six was selected did not represent a cross-section of the community.

It declared: "The court is doubtful that it is a practical possibility to select a grand jury complying with the state's constitutional requirements through the means provided."

The ruling is a powerful weapon in the ongoing battle to abolish the grand jury system. Attorney Charles Garry commented that the decision directly affects a similar suit filed by David Hilliard, a leading Black Panther Party member falsely convicted of a crime he did not commit and presently held in Vacaville Prison. David's suit, filed in U.S. District Court here, argues that Blacks were systematically eliminated from the 1971 grand jury which indicted him.□

SAN QUENTIN 6 LAWYER CHARLES GARRY DISCUSSES IMPLICATIONS OF VICTORY

The following exclusive interview was conducted by THE BLACK PANTHER in the law offices of noted, progressive criminal trial lawyer Charles R. Garry one day after a suit filed by Mr. Garry succeeded in having all charges dropped against the San Quentin Six.

B.P.: What type of motion was it that you filed that succeeded in the dismissal of the charges against the San Quentin Six?

GARRY: On behalf of Johnny Larry Spain, we filed a motion to dismiss the indictment against him because the grand jury that indicted him was hand-picked and was not a cross-section of the community; Blacks and low-income people were systematically excluded. The other five defendants — Hugo Pinell, Fleeta Drumgo, Luis Talamantez, David Johnson and Willie Tate joined in on the motion.

After six weeks of testimony, in which various psychologists and sociologists testified, the judge ruled yesterday that the six defendants, the San Quentin Six, were illegally indicted by a Marin County grand jury that was illegally constituted and was not a fair cross-section of the community.



Progressive, criminal trial lawyer CHARLES GARRY.

B.P.: What exactly constitued the illegality of the grand jury?

GARRY: Let me give you some of the language of the judge himself. He pointed out that "...the California courts have held that to enable defendants to object to the composition of the grand jury on the grounds that members of an identifiable group had been systematically excluded from the grand jury, they must establish that they are members of that group which has been excluded".

This apparently is the rule in California, though federal rule is otherwise...

"A result of the California rule is that as to some defendants an indictment may be quashed and as to others may not be. The result is that now you have a legally constituted grand jury, now you don't..."

The court went on to point out there was purposeful discrimination not limited to bad luck, but which existed in many significant, unexplained disparities.

The court is of the opinion that the means used by the selectors —the selectors being the Marin County judges—did not insure a fair representation of the group to which the defendants belong; the Blacks, the Latin Americans, the blue-collar working class, the young, nor did the pool from which the grand jury was selected. The pool of prospective grand-jurors was not shown to represent a cross-section of the community. The court is doubtful that it is possible to select a grand jury, complying to the constitutional requirements, through the means provided in the California penal code.

What the court is saying is that, in his opinion, it is almost impossible to create a constitutionally constitued grand jury.

As you know, we have raised the same issue in the case of Charles Bursey and Warren

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

BENEFIT AT LEARNING CENTER

"I'VE NEVER HAD A BETTER TIME IN MY LIFE"

(Oakland, Calif.) - One word, "JOY", best describes last Sunday's musical festivities at the Community Learning Center. A host of talented and dedicated performers repeatedly brought a capacity audience of 350 to its feet. The musical was held to benefit the Learning Center's Intercommunal Youth Institute, sponsored by the Educational Opportunities Corporation.

When the noted Bay Area gospel choir, Voices of Christ, raised their voices to sing "Fill my cup, let it overflow, let it overflow with love", the love spilled throughout the hall, reverberating from wall to wall and from person to person, producing an electrifying effect on the audience.

The crowd rose to its feet demanding "More", when the Learning Center's own Intercommunal Youth Band closed the program with the "Theme from Shaft". The Band's extremely young, but very talented soloists who got down with "Watermelon Man" and "Sunny" earned a standing ovation.

Adding her superbly beautiful voice to the celebration, Motown recording artist Elaine Brown moved the assemblage with renditions of her inspirational compositions, "Seize The Time", "Very Black Man", "Take It Away", "Assassination" and "We Shall Meet Again", which she performed together with the Son of Man Temple Singers.

Opening the program on a lively, yet serious note, the Son of Man Temple Singers performed the Temple's anthem, "We are Soldiers". Their second number, "Ooh Child", was sung with such intense feeling that it seemed to cause everyone to reaffirm the belief that, as one line in the song says: "Someday, things are going to get better."

"Peace On Earth", a jazz-spiritual performed together by the Son of Man Temple Singers and the Intercommunal Youth Band, employed a curious blend of sounds to project he listener into the world of universal peace and love.

Before the musical portion of the program opened, everyone ate plenty of delicious, home-cooked food. The entire event turned out to be a great success.

All who attended the musical left the Learning Center in high spirits, joyful that long overdue programs to benefit the community and our youth are being implemented. One senior citizen remarked upon leaving: "I never had a better time in my life."□



The Son of Man Temple Singers and the Intercommunal Youth Band joined together at Sunday's music festival to perform "Peace on Earth". [*See photo essay on back page.*]

GOVT. ORDERED TO DISCLOSE B.P.P. WIRETAP INFORMATION

(Washington, D.C.) - A significant victory over government wiretapping of political activists occurred recently when U.S. District Court Judge Aubrey E. Robinson, Jr., ordered the federal government to disclose the nature and extent of wiretaps and electronic surveillance of several people's leaders and organizations, including Bobby Seale and the Black Panther Party.

The ruling marked the first time the government has been ordered to reveal such wiretap information. The decision was made in connection with a suit brought by several private citizens, the Chicago 8 — the group that the government alleged disrupted the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago — and nine progressive and anti-war groups on June 26, 1969.

The suit charged that former Attorney General John N. Mitchell and ex-FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover "...conducted illegal electronic surveillance in the past, are continuing to do so at present, and intend to do so in the future".

As evidence of illegal government wiretapping the suit cited a Justice Department memorand-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 16



"THERE YOU HAVE IT—THE UNBELIEVABLE ROSE MARY WOODS WITH A RECORD 18 MINUTES IN THE TAPE ERASURE MEDLEYS—NOW TO JIM WITH THE DEMOLITION DERBY IN BAYONNE...."

FOSTER SLAYING

V.V.A.W. CONDEMN PRESS ATTACK

(Oakland, Calif.) - Recent slanderous publicity given to the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) in relationship to the murder of Dr. Marcus A. Foster has evoked a statement by this progressive organization condemning the local government and media efforts to discredit them.

The press here has recently tried to establish links between VVAW/WSO and the November 6 ambush slaying of Dr. Foster by stressing that Joseph M. Remiro, charged last week with the killing, was a former active member of the local East Bay VVAW/WSO Chapter.

Noting previous government conspiracies to discredit VVAW/WSO and link the progressive political organization with violent activities, the VVAW/WSO statement said: "We see this as one more effort by the government and conservative elements to destroy a national political organization involved in peaceful, progressive



Slain Oakland school superintendent MARCUS FOSTER.

struggle in America. The assassination of Marcus Foster is an act that this organization condemns."

Representatives of the Bay Area VVAW/WSO said in a press conference last week that although Remiro had been a founding member of the local chapter, he had left in March, 1972, because of personal and financial difficulties. They stated that they had no reason to believe that Remiro was guilty of the Foster slaying, describing his political beliefs as basically non-violent and against political assassination.

Oakland police have now stated that they are certain the ambush attack of the Black Oakland School Superintendent and his

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR TYRONE GUYTON FORMED

CROSS-SECTION OF COMMUNITY REPRESENTED

(Oakland, Calif.) - Just two days after an Alameda County Grand Jury refused to re-open the case, over 50 people, representing a broad cross-section of Bay Area community organizations, church groups, law clubs, students and locally elected officials met on Thursday night, January 17, and formed the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton.

The new group has announced that it will be action-orientated and has pledged to see to it that the three White Emeryville policemen involved in the November 1, 1973, shooting death of 14-year-old Tyrone are prosecuted for their crime. It also intends to ensure that Tyrone's family is awarded the $2 million in damages in two suits, it has filed against the city of Emeryville and the three policemen.

Present at the committee's formation, which took place at the Black Panther Party headquarters in East Oakland, were: Dr. O.F. Brown, representing the Bay Area Ministerial Fellowship; Pat Russ, representing Counseliers - West, a drug rehabilitation group; Benjamin Travis and Robert Harris, representing the influential Black lawyers organization, the Charles Houston Law Club; Noyota Solo, representing the Pan African Student Union in San Francisco, and Ms. Elaine Brown, representing the Black Panther Party.

Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Shephard, Tyrone's mother and stepfather, and Dr. John Guyton, Tyrone's father, were also in attendance. The group is headed by Brother Malcolm Kelley, who was largely responsible for bringing the individuals together. Brother Kelley hosts the popular "Campus Analysis" program on a local black radio station, KDIA.

Tyrone was shot twice in the back by the murderous White Emeryville policemen following a high speed auto chase that ended only one block from Tyrone's home. The police were admittedly less than 10 feet away from the frightened, fleeing youth when they took his life. The second bullet struck Tyrone as he already lay mortally wounded, face down in a half-dirt lawn.

The policemen claimed that Tyrone had fired a gun at them first. However, the gun Tyrone allegedly used was never produced. In fact, any eyewitness who watched the entire incident less than a half block away reports that Tyrone never had or fired a weapon.

The entire Bay area Black community was even more enraged, however, when an Alameda County Grand Jury, after hearing three days of evidence, refused to indict the White policemen. So shocking was the grand jury's refusal to indict—it was the first non-indictment by an Alameda County Grand Jury in 20 years—that the presiding judge of Alameda County Superior Court, Judge Lionel Wilson, sent a scathing letter to District Attorney Lowell Jensen, condemning the "unrepresentative" composition of the grand jury and asking Jensen to prosecute the policemen. Jensen refused. (For related information, see page 3.)

Since that time, Jensen's office has received a torrent of mail, all demanding that he prosecute the policemen. He staunchly continues to refuse, citing the racist grand jury's refusal to indict as the reason. Then, just this past Wednesday, January 16, the grand jury refused to re-open the case, again ignoring many letters and telegrams requesting that they do so.



TYRONE GUYTON was murdered by racist policemen on Nov. 1, 1973.

Jensen—the same D.A. who prosecuted Huey P. Newton three times for a false 1967 murder charge—has grown so arrogant that at the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton founding meeting, it was revealed that he sent the exact same letter to both the Charles Houston Law Collective and the Bay Area Ministerial Fellowship, outlining his bogus reasons for not prosecuting the police.

The Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton has pledged, however, that such acts of police violence and cover-ups must cease. The committee is planning to flood the Bay Area's Black community with petitions, fact sheets and posters all outlining the case in an attempt to arouse public awareness and, with the support of the people, pressure the D.A. or the grand jury into prosecuting the police. A Tyrone Guyton Foundation to financially aid his family, as well as other victims of police crime and barbarity, is planned.

The group is temporarily housed at the Community Learning Center, 6118 E. 14th Street in Oakland. A follow-up meeting is scheduled there on Thursday, January 24, at 8:00 p.m.□

BLACK TEACHER ARRESTED FOR VERBAL ATTACK ON NAZIS

CHARGED WITH "INCITING TO RIOT"

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Sister Yvonne Golden, the 39-year-old Black school teacher who demanded that 13 members of the American Nazi Party be ejected from a Board of Education meeting here last week has been arrested. She was charged with inciting to riot, disturbing the peace and disturbing a public meeting.

The arrest came after an announcement by the District Attorney's office, earlier, that it was investigating the possibility of holding Ms. Golden responsible for a fight that disrupted the meeting.

The teacher and counselor at Opportunity High School II was picked up at the school and booked and jailed. If convicted, she may receive up to 15 months in jail and a $1200 fine.

Ms. Golden did not become involved in the disturbance that broke out between the Nazis and members of the Socialist Workers Party. The fighting began minutes after her demand for the Nazis' ouster and intensified when the S.F. police entered into the brawl.

"I categorically deny any participation in the riotous events at the Board of Education on January 8th", Sister Golden said at a press conference at Glide Memorial Church, following her release on a court order.

"It is precisely this eventuality I sought to prevent when I went to the microphone to petition the Board of Education to dismiss the Nazis from Nourse Auditorium.

"It was clear that members of the audience, angered by brown-shirted Nazis [illegible] ingly restless."



YVONNE GOLDEN

Ten other persons were arrested at the time of the disturbance, none of them Nazis. Allen Vincent, a Nazi organizer, was quoted in the *San Francisco Chronicle* as saying that police "thinned out the hard-core, professional communist agitators to the point where we had no problems at all".

The Board of Education has also taken a pro-Nazi stance and is planning to give Ms. Golden disciplinary action. She said she was "not surprised" at Superintendent of Schools' Hopp's racist decision.

As Rev. Cecil Williams, the pastor of Glide Memorial Church said: "We in the Black com- [illegible] of all."□

REGISTER TO VOTE

HOUSEHOLD TECHNICIANS ORGANIZE FOR DIGNITY

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Bay Area Association of Household Technicans (BAAHT) is a new organization of domestic workers, mainly in the East Bay, who are struggling for dignity and basic human rights.

The group, which is basically a union with strong progressive goals, is opening a program of educating and training household workers. Only 21% of American house workers are high school graduates and many are unable to read. An awareness of ones' surroundings and the events in the world is the key to understanding ones position in the world and how to improve it, says the group.

The BAAHT also offers instruction on employer responsibility and provides a free employment service operation that insures a better-than-usual wage.



A typical household technician. They are two-thirds Black and 97 percent women.

Household technicans make low wages and are not covered by any laws guaranteeing workers' rights. Just as agricultural and farm workers were excluded from minimum wage laws and collective bargaining rights laws, so are the domestic workers. The average age of American household technicians is 46, reports BAAHT, although many are teenage girls. Two-thirds are Black and 97% are women.

Most houseworkers make less than $1,000 per year and 81% make less than $2,000 per year, 1,000,000 of the 1.5 million houseworkers in the U.S. are self-supporting and have no other means of support.

The Bay Area Association of Household Technicians is based in Oakland and began in 1971 as the Oakland/Berkeley Chapter of Household Technicans. However, the new organization was formed in an attempt to become more active than the former chapter of the national group had been.

As part of its educational program, the BAAHT has prepared a brochure explaining the rights of domestic workers to workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, Social Security, Medi - Cal and food stamps. Because of their low wages almost all household technicians can easily qualify for many benefits under these government programs. There are an estimated 10,000 household technicians in the Bay Area and the greatest concentration of these live in Oakland. Only 11% of all domestic workers live-in on their jobs and do not have to pay for their room and board.

BAAHT can be contacted through its office at 2261 East 14th St., Suite 100, Oakland, Calif. 94606. Or call: (415) 261-0622.□



ROBERT MORETTI with actress CICELY TYSON at party.

BOBBY SEALE AND ELAINE BROWN ATTEND MORETTI AFFAIR

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Elaine Brown and Bobby Seale were among a star-studded crowd of mostly Black northern Californians and friends at a party for gubernatorial hopeful Robert Moretti last week. The cocktail sip was hosted by Assemblyman Willie Brown, who is a friend and associate of Assembly Speaker Moretti, and was held at San Francisco's Hyatt House on Union Square.

Although yet to announce his candidacy officially, the 39-year-old Moretti drew close to 4,000 Black Californians. Featured in attendance was the radiant Cicely Tyson, acclaimed star of the memorable film "Sounder" and Oscar Brown, Jr., trail-blazing composer and singer of popular, socially conscious songs.

Moretti is one of six Democratic Party candidates seeking the gubernatorial nomination in June. Others include Secretary of State Edmund G. Brown, Jr., son of former Governor Pat Brown; San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto and Contra Costa Congressman Jerome Waldie.

In the glare of flashbulbs and film cameras, Assembly Willie Brown and Speaker Moretti welcomed Elaine and Bobby and expressed their appreciation that the former candidate for Mayor of Oakland and his running mate for Oakland City Councilwoman could join the festivities.

Commenting on the event, Elaine told THE BLACK PANTHER: "As an opening campaign action for Moretti, the affair was apparently successful, at least as concerns the Black vote, indicating that Black people are aware of Moretti's concern for the Black community."□

SAN QUENTIN 6 LAWYER CHARLES GARRY DISCUSSES IMPLICATIONS OF VICTORY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Wells. That case is now pending before the Appellate Court and it may very well be that the decision along with this case may have some significance. My law office started this attack against the grand jury system the first time in Huey Newton's first trial in 1967 and '68 and we have raised it every time since then.

B.P.: Won't this ruling in the San Quentin Six case directly affect David Hilliard's case? (David Hilliard, a leading member of the Black Panther Party presently incarcerated in Vacaville Prison presently has a suit filed in federal court in San Francisco seeking to overturn his conviction due to the unrepresentative nature of the Alameda County Grand Jury that indicted him.

GARRY: Right. It will have significant repercussions all over. The federal courts will follow what the state law says. What the judge, in this case was talking about was that the grand jury of the federal courts are separate and distinct from grand juries of the state courts. In that connection, he is incorrect. The California state law and the federal law are the same in that respect.

B.P.: How exactly does this ruling affect the grand jury system throughout California?

GARRY: If the grand juries are selected in the manner that the Constitution requires then it would be necessary to actually have a grand jury that is composed of people who are not hand-picked by the judges themselves. What would really happen is that the district attorney will no longer use the grand jury.

You see, only 3% of all the felony cases are prosecuted by way of the grand jury. All of the other cases go by way of the preliminary hearing. The difficulty is in the grand jury; it's really a closed-chamber proceeding. The only persons that are there are the grand jury and the district attorney, who can say anything he wants to. The grand jurors are usually a rubber stamp of the district attorney.

I'd much rather do away with the grand jury. They are only used in political cases and cases that have gotten great notoriety. Its just humbug to allow the district attorney to have that type of unfettered discretion as to when he can decide when there should be a grand jury and when there shouldn't be one. He uses political motivations.

B.P.: Were the Six in court yesterday when the decision was made?

GARRY: No. No one was in court. The judge filed his orders as he came into court around 4:00 p.m. yesterday afternoon. I heard about it right away. I had an inkling about it around 3:30 and then it was confirmed at 4:oo.



DAVID HILLIARD

B.P.: Have you by any chance talked to Johnny Spain since the ruling?

GARRY: David Mayer went to see Johnny this morning. Of course, the Six are elated but of course, the brothers don't take these things in jubilation as most of us do. They know what the system is, they know they are still in the S.Q Adjustment Center. That Adjustment Center is inhumane. As a matter of fact, this Monday, January 21 they're going to be in U.S. District Court here regarding some of the cruel and vicious conditions within the Adjustment Center at San Quentin. I hope to obtain their release from there as soon as possible.

□□□□

STRIKING BLACK IRON FOUNDRY WORKERS HALT PRODUCTION

Foundry workers warm themselves while doing picket duty in Birmingham.



(Birmingham, Ala.) - It's been well over two and a half months since the strike at Birmingham Stove and Range, a cast iron foundry here, began. The employees, mostly Black women, have been 100% effective in stopping production and, are continuing to walk the picket lines.

On November 30, workers at Birmingham Stove and Range voted to go on strike rather than accept the new contract that their international union, the United Steelworkers of America, had pressured them to accept. The worker's major demands are for an immediate $1.00 an hour raise in 1974, a 20% increase in 1975 and another 20% in 1976.

Virtually the entire plant, with the exception of foremen and supervisors, are Black. Sixty percent of the Stove and Range workers are women who perform heavy industrial work, usually associated with men, including the handling of molton iron.

Before the workers took action to stop production, the company intimidated the union members into voting against the strike for fear they would lose their jobs.

The steelworkers international union has not aided the employees in their strike. Only half the workers are members of the union, which has tried to convince the strikers to accept the inadequate compromises offered by the company.

The union has blocked the effort of the strikers to get food stamps. The $10 a week union strike benefits the workers are forced to live on are outrageously low.

The United Steelworker has been in existence for 40 years. During that time it has worked very closely with the companies and has not represented the workers. Contracts, policies and proposals are drawn up between the union and the iron foundry without consultation from or with the employees.

A strong, effective union is needed. The workers at Stove and Range plan to draw up new contracts and proposals for the union when the present ones expire. They feel this is the only way their local can be used to serve their needs.

The wages at Stove and Range start at $2.10 an hour. There are no women employees, regardless of time put in, making more than $2.30 an hour. The women are basically heads of their households and, because of the low wages, are unable to support their families.

The company contract states that the foundry has the right to work an employee seven days a week, 24 hours a day and that the workers have no right to question or protest their working conditions.

Also included in the contract is the merit increase system which reads: "The Company in its discretion can grant increases to individual employees based upon merit, experience and ability." They falsely claim that, if the employees work hard, their paychecks will grow. There are women who have been employed at the iron foundry for 5 to 10 years who received a maximum raise of 20 cents an hour.

The merit increase system also works along with race and sex discrimination. The few Whites that are hired are usually moved to supervisory positions very quickly.

For example, one Black woman worked at the foundry for 8 years for $2.25 an hour. A White man was hired and, a month later was receiving $2.50 an hour for the same job. The company's answer to this was men merited the increases whereas, women do not.

Birmingham Iron Foundry has agreed to go along with some of the proposals of the employees demands only if certain conditions were attached. The cost-of-living increase was agreed to only if the employee works 95% of his schedule; the company would also make up its own cost-of-living scale. A paid holiday could be taken only if a person worked 30 days before the holiday and one day after.

The foundry makes cast iron cookware, barbeque grills, furniture and, most important, cost iron coal, wood and gas heaters. The threatened lack of heating fuel this winter has greatly increased the orders for these heaters. This is added pressure on the company to give in to the strikers demands.□

ATTACK ON BLACK COMMUNITY

POLICE SURROUND B.P.P. OAKLAND HEADQUARTERS

(Oakland, Calif.) - In an act of clear and deliberate provocation, heavily armed Oakland policemen last week surrounded the Central Headquarters of the Black Panther Party at 8501 E. 14th St. in Oakland. The incident, which took place at 9:15 a.m. on the morning of Tuesday January 15, completed the Oakland Black community's introduction to the new chief of police, George T. Hart.

The alleged justification for this provocative police action was to serve a "failure to appear in court" warrant against a young, female member of the Party, 19-year-old Naomi Williams. Naomi, in the office at the time surrendered herself to policemen immediately to avoid endangering her comrades and the surrounding community by potential violence of the armed police troops.

Naomi had been arrested the previous week for "soliciting charitable donations without a permit", while collecting donations for the People's Free Medical Research Health Clinics' Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation. The Clinics', sponsored by the newly-opened Son of Man Temple in East Oakland, have been conducting an intensive fund-raising campaign recently, to secure much-needed funds and supplies in their drive to fight Sickle Cell Anemia, the deadly, blood disease whose victims are primarily Black.

Naomi frequently volunteered her time and efforts to aid this worthwhile cause. She, along with many other of the Clinics' volunteers, has been subjected to increasing police harassment in recent weeks in an attempt to halt the drive.

In response, the Son of Man Temple is filing suit in Municipal Court here, arguing that the



Oakland police surrounded the Black Panther Party's office to arrest 19-year-old NAOMI WILLIAMS.

requirement for obtaining a solicitor's permit is unconstitutional, violating rights provided by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which guarantees religious freedom. (The right of the Son of Man Temple to obtain funds for its programs.) Lawyers for the Temple are prepared to argue that the discriminatory nature of the permit requirement is revealed by the arbitrary distribution of the permits by the city's Public Charities Commission.

Prior to the actual filing of the suit, however, attorneys for the Temple had reached an agreement with the courts that on Monday, January 21, all Clinic volunteers who had been arrested would appear in court together, while arguments and motions were being heard. No warrants were to be issued until that Monday court date.

Yet, in bold violation of that agreement, more than 10 squad cars of policemen, a paddy wagon and numerous plainclothes policemen, all White, surrounded

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

PROVISIONAL GOVT. CONDEMNS U.S. MILITARY IN S. VIETNAM

The following statement was issued on November 29, 1973, by the Foreign Ministry of the Revolutionary Provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

"As a signatory of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam the United States has undertaken to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam and the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people, it undertakes to end its military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam, withdraw from South Viet Nam all the U.S. armed forces, military "advisors" and civilian personnel, including military technical personnel and military personnel involved in the "pacification" program and advisors to the paramilitary forces and police of the Saigon administration.

"As a matter of fact, however, regardless of all its commitments, the United States has blatantly violated many important provisions of the Paris Agreement. Along with the illegal shipment to South Viet Nam of hundreds of thousands of tons of weapons, munitions and war means and its intensified military aid to the Saigon administration, the United States has not only left behind in but also secretly sent to South Viet Nam a very large number of military personnel disguised as civilian personnel.

OVER 24,000

"In early April, 1973, the U.S. military personnel in South Viet Nam, including disguised ones, were 10,000 but, now, the number of disguised U.S. military personnel exceeds 24,000. Among them, 3,500 are 'advisors' to the Saigon Ministry of Defense, 9,000 to the various arms and services of the Saigon army, nearly 3,000 to the police, intelligence service and the 'pacification' and 'phoenix' programs, and thousands of others to other branches of activity of the Saigon administration.

"Along with the maintenance of the above-mentioned forces the United States has reorganized its command in South Viet Nam to direct the Saigon administration in carrying out plans worked out by Washington. The "Defense Attache Office" (D.A.O.) headed by General John Murray, which is but a disguised form of the M.A.C.V., is commanding the Saigon army and police. It is put under the direct command of General John Vogt whose headquarters is in the Nakhon Phanom military base (Thailand).

"The D.A.O. directs all military activities of the United States in Indochina and South East Asia. Actually the 'Special Advisors to the Ambassador on Field Operations' (S.A.A.F.O.) is directing the 'pacification' and 'phoenix' programs which had previously been under the charge of the C.O.R.D.S. At present, the U.S.A.I.D. continues to train, arm and advise the Saigon police. The consulates-generals of the United States at Da Nang, Nha Trang, Bien Hoa and Can Tho are in fact U.S. headquarters in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th military zones of the Saigon administration.



U.S. soldier handling Vietnamese captives in the usual, "friendly" way.

"Under the command of the above described military machine and military personnel disguised as civilian personnel, the Saigon administration has unceasingly and seriously violated the provisions of the Paris Agreement and the June 13, 1973 Joint Communique by conducting repeated nibbling operations and intensifying its bombing and strafing raids against the areas controlled by the P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N. Besides, the Saigon administration has stepped up its police and 'pacification' operations thus committing heinous crimes against the South Vietnamese people, running counter to the aspirations for peace, independence, and national reconciliation and concord of the people living in areas under its control.

"With the above-mentioned acts, the United States has brazenly and seriously violated Articles 1, 4, 5, 7 and 9 of the Paris Agreement and articles 3 and 4 of the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam, thus rendering the present situation in South Viet Nam more tense. These acts have exposed the fallacious claim about 'ending the U.S. military role' in South Viet Nam and laid bare the United States design of obstinately maintaining its military involvement in South Viet Nam, pursuing the 'Nixon doctrine' and using the Saigon administration as a tool to realize U.S. old and neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam with the aim of prolonging the partition of Viet Nam.

"The Provisonal Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam vehemently denounces and severely condemns the above-mentioned acts of the United States which seriously violate the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, resolutely demands that it withdraw immediately from South Viet Nam all its military personnel disguised as civilian personnel, end all its military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam, and respect and strictly implement the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, the Act of the International Conference on Viet Nam and the June 13,1973, Joint Communique.

"If the United States refuses to draw lessons from its old policy of military involvement which has brought it to failure in the war in Viet Nam, but continues violating the Paris Agreement and continues its military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam, then it will surely incur still heavier setbacks."

V.V.A.W. CONDEMNS PRESS ATTACK

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

White aide, Robert Blackburn, critically wounded in the attack, was launched from a nearby apartment. Authorities have now issued warrants for the arrest of Nancy Ling Perry, a 26-year-old White woman. She has also been charged with arson in connection with allegedly setting fire to an apartment in Concord, in which police say they found a large cache of weapons and literature under the letterhead of the Symbionese Liberation Army. The police claim that Ms. Perry helped engineer and provided funds for the assassination plot.

Police reported last Friday that Ms. Perry had sent a four-page letter to two local newspapers in which she gave more details about the Symbionese Liberation Army — the previously unknown group which claimed "credit" for the assassination — and admitted setting fire to the Concord apartment. The letter reportedly states that the apartment was the center of the group's information intelligence division.

Police are also trying to link the recent arrests to the so-called August 7th Guerrilla Movement, which claims "responsibility for shooting down an Oakland police helicopter last year. They say that they found the original copy of the letter (supposedly sent to the press by the August 7th Movement) in the same Concord apartment.

Joseph Remiro and Russell Little are being held under strict security prior to their pre-trial hearings in an obvious effort by police to over-sensationalize the case.

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

S. AFRICA TRADE DENOUNCED

(Toronto, Canada) - The Executive Secretary of the Canadian Labor Congress, Joe Morris, has denounced his government's plan to sponsor a trade mission to South Africa. Morris told a rally held to protest the government's action that "contact with the racist regime of South Africa cannot but soil the democratic government of Ontario".

AGED COUPLE FREEZ TO DEATH

(Schenectady, N.Y.) - An aged couple was found frozen to death over Christmas weekend, having died at the hands of the Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation. Mr. & Mrs. Baker, who were in their 90s, were trying to live on Social Security and a small pension. When they were unable to pay their electric bill for 5 months their electricity was cut off, leaving them to die in the cold.

CONSTRUCTION UNIONS CHARGED

(Baltimore, Md.) - The Department of Justice filed suit today charging four Baltimore area building trade unions with discriminating against Black people in job opportunities. The suit charged that the local unions pursued policies and practices that discriminated by failing to recruit and admit Black applicants as members and by failing to refer or approve Blacks for building trade jobs.

MILITARY WASTES OIL

(Sacramento, Calif.) - The State Energy Planning Council has reported that one factor complicating California's energy shortage is the diversion of 60,000 barrels a day of petroleum to the military. The Arab embargo has dried up many of the U.S. military overseas sources of oil and requires that the oil be supplied from the United States. The council says the military's demands poses a further complication of the serious energy shortage in California, and even further hikes up oil prices.

TAXPAYERS UNDERWRITE

(Washington, D.C.) - The Amerian taxpayer is again being asked to underwrite the rich. The OPK (Overseas Private Investment Corporation), a government-run institution, has floated a $415,000 loan to an American businessman to finance a luxury hotel in Haiti. Rooms in the hotel will cost $150 a day while the per capital income of Haiti is $78 per year. Thus, the rich get richer, the poor get poorer and the American people keep things going with their taxes.

IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONVERSATIONS WITH ERIK H. ERIKSON AND HUEY P. NEWTON

In this week's continuation of our serialized publication of excerpts from the book, In Search of Common Ground, *we deal with parts of two days of conversation. Huey P. Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party, and Erik H. Erikson, noted psychoanalyst and Harvard professor, discuss the role of guns and defense strategy within the human liberation struggle and also the philosophy of Intercommunalism.*

QUESTION: Much of the impact of the Black Panther Party, and the focus of much of the criticism of the Party, has been your willingness to come out and say that you are prepared to defend yourselves. Some people say: Look, if you are truly revolutionary, then you shouldn't play your trump card by telling people what you are going to do, because then they are going to pick you off one by one.

NEWTON: You are now talking about strategy. Uncle Ho said that it is incorrect to publicize military strategy for military reasons, but that it is prefectly correct to publicize military strategy for political reasons. To judge the correctness of our actions, then, you must understand what we were trying to do.

We believe that only the people can expropriate power from the ruling circle here and bring about the necessary transition in the world. So our primary task has been to change the attitude of the people toward that power. Helplessness in the face of oppression is the first attitude that has to be changed, because the slave never expropriates power from the master until he realizes that the master is not God and is not bullet-proof. And then it is necessary to teach the people that they do not have to accept life at the cost of the loss of their dignity, and the only way to do this is to offer them examples of people who say if they cannot be free, then they will die trying.

We no longer go around with bandoliers and guns because we believe we have helped change that attitude. If we had never offered them an example like that, though, they would not know us now; we would never have become their true representatives and leaders. Now we are opening up a new front, speaking out and saying that we might do something to the slave master. We are put into jail for that. We are murdered in our sleep, as Fred Hampton was. We are framed, as Bobby and Ericka were. This goes on. But at the same time these acts have gained us the attention of the people, and the vanguard that does not have the attention of the people has no way of challenging their unconscious state.

MODERATOR: We have been at it three hours now. Let's break and see where we are tomorrow.

THIRD DAY
GENERAL DISCUSSION

MODERATOR: All right, here we go. I sense a burning question over there.

QUESTION: I have a question I'd like both of the main participants to speak to. In talking about this conference beforehand, I got the impression that this was going to be a confrontation between, you know, two distinguished people in the public eye. And it really has not been that at all. I would just like to know why you are participating in this.

NEWTON: Well, I guess I should say first that I was very interested in getting a chance to talk to Mr. Erikson and to the rest of you. And of course a book may come out of this encounter, and the Black Panther Party will need the funds if we are fortunate enough to get any. So I am largely here to exploit the situation—and to exploit the students too, I guess. That's why.

ERIKSON: I don't know what I can add to that. Huey left me out of the category of those he claims he is exploiting. I certainly wanted to meet him, although I was never a party to any attempt to make this a confrontation between two people. I should add that I am somewhat disappointed that the moderators have taken their impartial roles so seriously that so far they have not asserted their own fields: I think that a political statement and a psychological statement need to be bridged by some discussion of social structure and of historical process. But I will also say, since you ask me directly, that I would not have come here if the students had not been here too. Their comments on the nature of our presentations are very basic to the whole meeting.

QUESTION: I have a burning question, too, for Mr. Newton. I have been reading over some of the notes I have taken and, frankly, I really cannot find anything that's startling or new about revolutionary intercommunalism. It seems to me that the ideology is old. It substitutes new terms for old.

NEWTON: The *phenomenon* is new. It did not exist before.

QUESTION: But it really seems like a visionary ideology for such a materialist as you and almost impractical.

NEWTON: You mean materialism is visionary?

QUESTION: No, no, that's not what I'm saying. I'm saying that this whole thing about a unified identity is visionary. You are saying that the whole world is linked and is reacting in a certain way to the American empire, and this seems to me a repeat of something that has been said before. So I am wondering why you think the notion is really new.

NEWTON: First of all, the Party does not steal ideas. It often synthesizes ideas and tries to put them into practice, in which gives us a deeper understanding of the original idea. So maybe you should direct your question to Mr. Erikson, because he...

ERIKSON: He steals ideas? (laughter)

NEWTON: No, no. But his subject is identity. He is talking about a universal identity; I am talking about a culture that is essentially human; and I am merely trying to show the relationship and the similarity between those two approaches.

QUESTION: I understand that Mr. Erikson should address himself to that point from a psychological perspective. But since the Party is supposed to have a program that will bring about this concept of intercommunalism, it should also take into consideration that...

NEWTON: Excuse me, but you are missing the point. *We* are not bringing about the concept of intercommunalism or even the fact of intercommunalism. Reactionary intercommunalism, which is the order of the day, was brought about by the ruling circles of American imperialism. I am just describing an actual system of relationships in the world today.

QUESTION: Then what approach does the Party take to intercommunalism. How do you relate to that fact?

NEWTON: We see ourselves as among the victims of reactionary intercommunalism. As victims, we resist; as materialists, we try to understand what our situation is in respect to it. We try to relate to it, therefore, by educating the people to their real condition and engaging them in actions that will change that condition. We try to find out what reactionary intercommunalism is and then try to manipulate it in the people's favor.

TO BE CONTINUED



Early Black Panther Party members of Marin County, California.

NIXON POPULARITY REACHES ALL-TIME LOW

(Washington, D.C.) - In a recently released Harris poll President Nixon received the lowest popularity rating of his term in office. Only 17% of those polled felt that Nixon inspired "confidence personally in the White House". Only 42% thought that he should not resign.

Nevertheless, days later, Vice President Gerald Ford angrily complained that only "a few extreme partisans" were concerned about the Watergate affair. He lashed out at the "powerful pressure organizations", that, "are convinced that they can dominate...the nation", through their, "all-out attack against the President".

This was before Ford, and the rest of America learned of the revelation by a team of electronics experts in federal court earlier that day that the 18½ minute gap in one of the White House tapes was a deliberate erasure.

Committees to Impeach the President continue to grow and become more numerous throughout the country. There are 4,000 people in 21 of Illinois' 24 Congressional districts circulating impeachment petitions. On December 16, 1973, the 200th anniversary of the Boston Tea Party, 40,000 people demonstrated in the snow and rain in Boston to impeach Nixon and for control of the oil monopolies.

Impeachment committees have become active in cities across America: Seattle; Portland; San Marcos, Calif.; Baltimore; Harrisburg and Bethlehem, Pa.; Montclair, N.J.; Berkeley; St. Louis; Dayton; Cleveland;



The spokesman: 'Ron does exactly as he's told'

Jacksonville; Charlotte; Greensburg, N.C.; Mankato, Minn., and Old Town, Me., to name a few

Meanwhile, as the Congress appears ready to decide the question of impeachment and trial, Nixon remains behind closed doors. Even most of his top aides and assistants have trouble meeting with the brooding President. According to *Time* magazine, Presidential Press Secretary Ron Ziegler, former Disneyland advertising chief, has become Nixon's closest personal adviser. But, neither the fairy tales nor the outright lies that Ziegler spins will save Richard Nixon.

REPORT ON TAPES

18 MINUTE GAP NO MISTAKE

(Washington, D.C.) - A report presented in court last week by technical tape experts justifies the widely-held belief that the Nixon administration deliberately erased crucial tape recorded Watergate conversations damaging to the President.

Testifying in the federal court of Judge John Sirica, the experts said the 18½ minute tape gap could not have been caused by the floor pedal used by Nixon's personal secretary, Rose Mary Woods, but was the result of at least five separate erasures, all done manually.

Until the experts testified in Sirica's court, Rose Mary Woods served as the administration scapegoat for the missing conversations. The White House intended for the courts and the public to blame her for inadvertantly erasing the tapes while holding a phone conversation, an act investigations have demonstrated could not be performed by the human body.

The culprit in the Nixon administration who carried out the actual erasures is unknown, at least to the public, but it is certain the erasures were done with the full knowledge or upon orders of the President. Despite White House claims to the contrary, it is not unlikely that Nixon himself erased the tapes.

He had sufficient reason. The U.S. Court of Appeals said the conversation in question would have shown "the extent of the knowledge (the President had) of the illegal activity by the participants (in Watergate) or any effort (by the administration) to conceal the truth".

When the fact that a conversation was missing was first disclosed to the public, Nixon lied, claiming it had never been recorded. Then he contended that his secretary accidentally erased it while in the act of transcribing. Now that the experts have knocked down this last Nixon tape story in court, he does not know what lie to tell next. Aside from disclaiming his guilt, he hasn't yet offered any story to counteract the experts' damaging testimony. He is apparently running out of lies — and whether or not he knows it — time. The American people are running out of patience.

It seems that Judge Sirica has also grown impatient. Last Friday, he recommended that the special Watergate prosecutor initiate a grand jury investigation of the 18½ minutes of erased conversation. "It's the court's considered opinion that a distinct possibility of unlawful conduct on the part of one or more persons exists here", Sirica told his overflow courtroom crowd. "A grand jury should now determine whether indictments are appropriate. The Court has concluded from the evidence now before it that the possibility of unlawful tampering or suppression of evidence is sufficiently strong to merit grand jury action."

Sirica added that the investigation should look "into the possibility of unlawful destruction of evidence and any related offense".

Evidence to support tape charges against the President was revealed in a minor bombshell dropped during the court session that other,



"Sunset off San Clemente."

previously undisclosed, tape gaps exist. The most important of these were a 57-second gap in Nixon's recorded "recollections" of meetings with his aides about the Watergate cover-up and a 38-second gap in his recollections of the first conversation he had with the head of his re-election committee after the break-in.

Of all the gaps for which the administration is responsible, however, the one most glaring and malignant is the one future generations will look back on as being the Watergate era. They will consider it a gap in the progress of civilization brought about by a criminal President named Richard M. Nixon. □



ANTI-CASTRO CUBANS: CIA LABOR POOL

DONALD FREED DOCUMENTS CIA-CUBAN CONNECTIONS IN L.A.

[Los Angeles, Calif.] - At a press conference held recently, Donald Freed, editor of the Citizen's Research and Investigation Committee [CRIC] and co-author of Executive Action, *revealed that an attempt was made to break into the home of Kennedy assassination researcher Rusty Rhodes. [See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.] At the news conference, Mr. Freed revealed details of Los Angeles police, FBI and CIA violence and harassment of "anti-war, human rights, Black liberation and Kennedy conspiracy activists" since the late 1960 s.*

The major perpetrators of many of these violent acts have been anti-Castro Cuban - Americans who become pawns of the CIA and other agencies, Freed said. He explained the Cuban-CIA connection further:

"...There is no motive here today to generalize about Cuban-Americans or Cubans in general. The reference here today is to a very small fraction of the Cuban-American community who have been in the pay and hire of the CIA — you might say CIA dupes. The larger Cuban community, since the Watergate affair, has expressed profound dismay and disappointment in those Cubans who have made themselves a party to these CIA and intelligence adventures. So there is no motive to generalize about an entire group of people at all.

"A young woman by the name of Louise Colmy was raped in 1969. She later identified the man and other Cuban-Americans after they had committed vandalism at the Central Unitarian Church in Los Angeles during a showing of films concerning Cuba.

"Following the attack on the Unitarian Church and the rape of a young woman — who belonged to the Friends of the Panthers, a White group in 1969 — the Haymarket Cultural Center was attacked by men with automatic weapons who held people on the floor, destroyed property and started a fire. The Ashgrove, a coffee house, was burned down that same year.

"Los Angeles District Attorney Steven S. Trott was the prosecutor for the case and he elicited from one of the defendants that they were hired by the CIA. A Sergeant Charles Loust of the L.A.P.D. Criminal Conspiracy Division — that's political intelligence — and Edward Grits, who was the attorney for the three Cubans, both stated that they were aware that the CIA had approached the Cubans for these violent events. 'My clients were used by someone. I know who it is but I cannot reveal the information', Loust said. He revealed that the Cubans had been approached in 1969 and 1970.

"The terrorists were not arrested by the police but by a man who cut them off while they were in the street with his automobile, outside the Ashgrove after the second fire. The Ashgrove has now been burned down for the third and final time and is now closed permanently. They were arrested and pleaded guilty but they were only three of at least a dozen men.



BERNARD BAKER JAMES McCORD, JR.



DONALD FREED

"An investigator named John R. Howard (who is a special agent for the Surety Insurance Co., the company that put up bail for the men that had been arrested for these events of violence in 1970), said he traced them to Mexico where they had been seen in the building of an organization called Alpha 66. Alpha 66 was, of course, involved in Caribbean political affairs and in the Bay of Pigs invasion in the early 1960 s. E. Howard Hunt and others from the Watergate, including Bernard Barker, James W. McCord, Jr., acted as CIA liaison to this group, which later housed the terrorists from the L.A. area.

"One of the men, named Paleze, was found in Mexico City at the Alpha 66 headquarters. Two were indicted for their part in about ten bombings in L.A., including an attack on the Shell Oil Corp. and two Mexican tour offices. FBI agents testified at the trial of these terrorists that the explosives that they used had been obtained from the CIA for use in the Bay of Pigs invasion.

"Thus money, material, training, plans and personnel from the 1960 s — from the time of the Bay of Pigs up to the time of the assassination of John F. Kennedy — reach forward to Watergate and this violent attack on Rusty Rhodes. Mr. Rhodes has been stressing the Cuban connection of E. Howard Hunt and others to both the Kennedy assassination in Dallas and to the Watergate affair.

"The L.A.P.D. and the FBI have both admitted to lawyers in this city that they have informants in the Cuban groups. No arrests have ever been made, despite the use of large numbers of automatic weapons by cars full of men at both the Ashgrove and the Haymarket, where the Socialist Workers Party had been vandalized. Automatic weapons had been held on the Socialist Workers Party as they were forced to lie on the floor. They escaped by a near miracle the flames and the fire bombs.

"When the Impeach Nixon headquarters was bombed this past month, the Criminal Conspiracy Section was called and their response was to give lie detector tests to the victims of the bombing. Without the cover and protection of police intelligence in L.A., this wave of terrorism could not continue. There is the admission both from the districy attorney's office and the FBI that the CIA is involved.

"It is Mr. Rhodes' allegation, shared by Mark Lane and myself in our work on the book and film *Executive Action* (there was an attempt to stop that film but it was completed under armed guard), that the CIA-Cuban connection is a leading component in the Kennedy assassination in Dallas and the Watergate affair.

"When Lee Harvey Oswald was in Mexico City in the summer of '63, E. Howard Hunt was there at the same time for the CIA. There was strong evidence that Hunt may have been the control or spy master for Lee Harvey Oswald. Frank Sturgess, a Cuban-American who was arrested at the Watergate, came forward one week after the Kennedy assassination spreading a cover story that Oswald had met with Castro agents in Miami Beach, Florida. These stories had all been checked out by the FBI and others and they did not pan out at all. But Mr. Sturgess was extremely active in setting up the pro-communist cover for Oswald.

"Finally, I think that this attack on Mr. Rhodes and the attempt to stop the film may be based on the fact that we have made no secret of the fact that new information is being developed that will be broken in 1974. The connection between the Watergate and the Kennedy assassination may be coming out.

"We've called on people to go into the lobby of theaters showing the film *Executive Action* to circulate a petition. Large standing room college audiences have been addressed by Mr. Rhodes, myself and others. are giving a name, a place, an address and a strategy of approaching the Congress, calling for an independent congressional investigation of the assassinations in the 1960s and the attempt to kill George Wallace. We want an investigation of the National Archives in Washington where,



FRANK STURGESS

last year, we found that the brain of President Kennedy had disappeared. When Dr. Webb, the coroner of Alleghany County, had been given permission to enter the Archives, he found that John Kennedy's brain was gone. Now we are going to re-double our efforts. This incident is not going to stop us.

"We lost a great number of witnesses as we began the investigation into the death of John Kennedy. But we were amateurs then, we've come a long way. We're pretty seasoned investigators now and we will not give in to these acts of political terrorism. They only give us the strength to carry our case to the American people." □

ENERGY EXPERT ANSWERS QUESTIONS ABOUT "CRISIS"

The following interview is the second and concluding part of a conversation which took place on KPFA radio, in Berkeley, California, on November 23, 1973. In it, Joshua Goldstein, a political scientist at the Institute of Political Studies at Stanford University, provides an in-depth analysis of the "energy crisis" in a talk with Steve Ladd from the Bay Area Peace Brigade.

Part II follows:

SL: Are you saying then that they didn't create the crisis, or shortage?

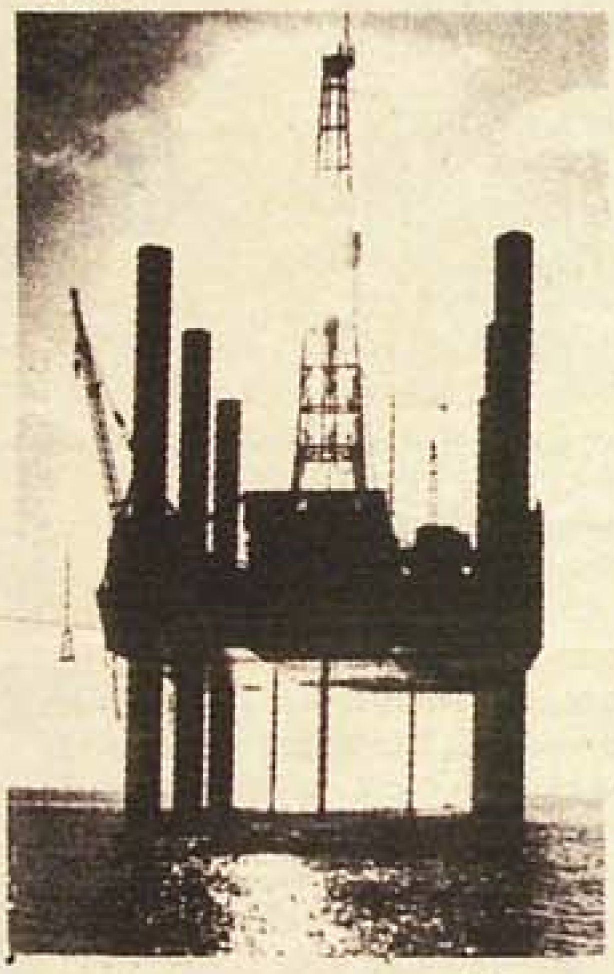
JG: Right It's like the question of how you slice a pie. If there's a growing pie, if the economy is growing and the corporations are producing more and more, then their profits will grow, and the people's standard of living will also grow. Under those conditions, the oil companies are happy to give people a low price in order to get people to buy more, so that profits will grow along with the whole pie. But when we have a resource shortage, or a shortage of cheap resources which yield a high growth rate, then the pie stops growing. When that happens, and it's happening right now, the corporations are not happy to give more to the people, because they want their own share to grow—but now that the whole pie has stopped growing, their share can grow onlyby someone else's share shrinking.

There's an expression, "Internal contradictions are the basis of change, external contradictions are the conditions for change". Here the external contradiction is between our high level of technology and the shortage of cheap resources to support it, which leads to all the talk about "the slowing American economy".The internal contradiction is between the controlling elite which is concentrating all the wealth, and the people who aren't rich and don't own any big corporations.

SL: If the shortage hasn't been created by these companies, then why is it happening? How has it happened?

JG: Well, the primary cause behind it is growth, economic growth, where the U.S. is using more and more resources, building more buildings, more cars, and so on. Now when there is a finite capacity of resources within North America to sustain this growth, then sooner or later the growing economy is going to overcome the resources it depends on. At that point, they have to turn either to more expensive resources, which will slow down the growth rate by draining some of the surplus that is produced, or else they turn abroad to take resources which are cheap because those countries haven't exhausted their cheap resources yet, and labor is cheap, and the U.S. military protects the whole racket.

We've seen a greater and greater reliance on imported resources over the past twenty years, but now the tables are turning and the Third World countries are beginning to deny the U.S. the use of their resources, or extract a high price for that use. Of course if the Third World can extract a higher price, then those resources are no longer "cheap" and the corporations are in the same bind as before.



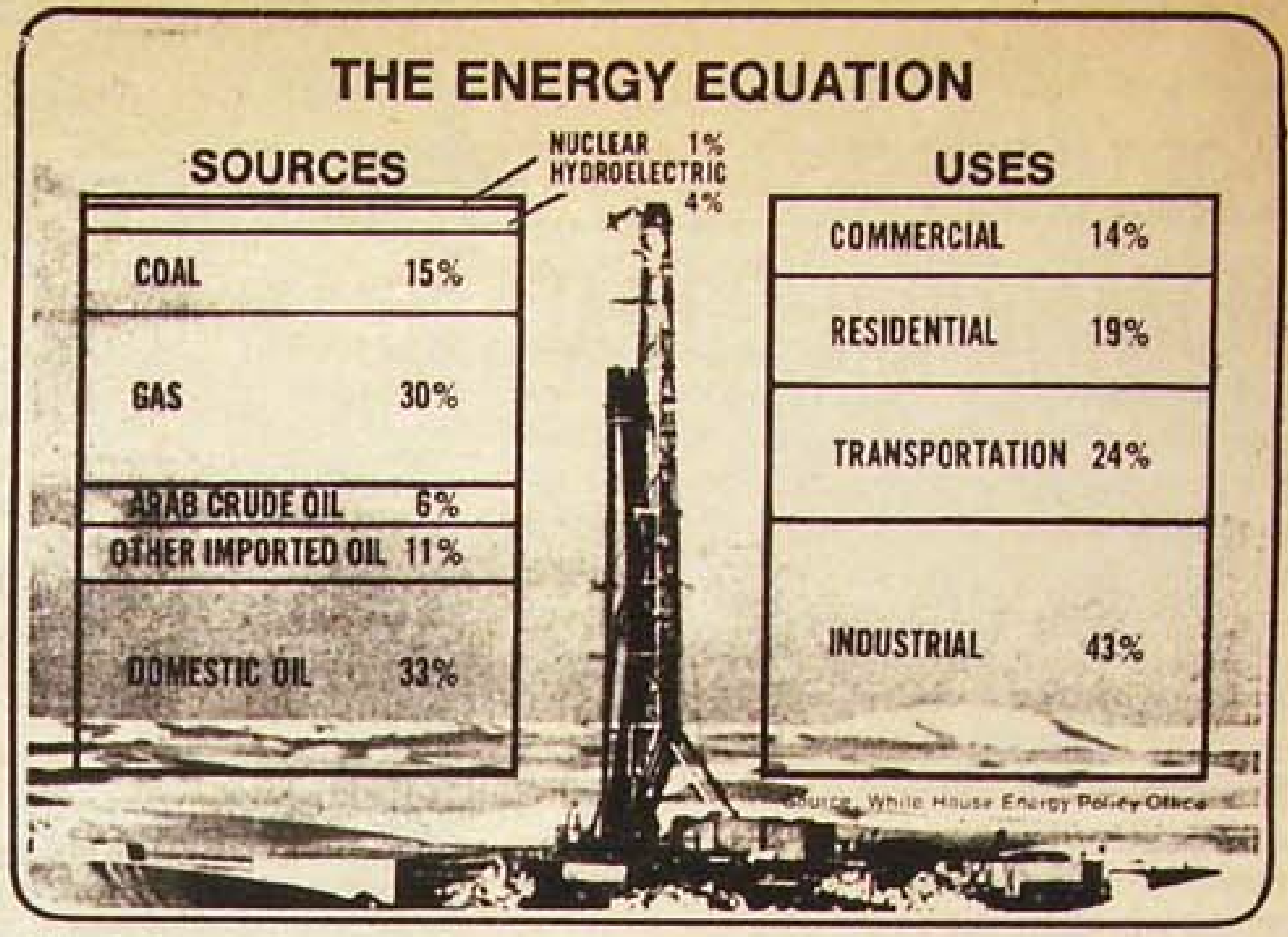
Britain's North Sea oil reserve.

SL: What about the way some people are saying, as part of those measures, that we need new sources of energy.

JG: Well, nobody can deny that over the long run, the next fifty to one hundred years, we need new sources of energy because fossil fuels are a limited resource. But the answer that's being put forward for the long range is that nuclear fission power will solve the problem.

Then there's the problem of the plutonium and other fissionable material the plants use — someone could steal a few pounds and make a crude Hiroshima-type atomic bomb to blackmail whole countries for ransom or political demands. Seeing how the U.S. has responded to situations like this in the past, I think we could see some cities blown up before long.

SL: Assuming that we've got to find new sources of energy, what would some of those sources be?



The industrial sector consumes most of the energy. [Chart doesn't include military use.]

JG: The long term sources that we should be developing are solar power and fusion power. Over the long run fusion power might be the best source of energy but so far we haven't found the technology to harness it. Solar power is practical right now, in fact all spacecraft use it, but it's not economical compared with, say, using Arab oil. Over the long run both solar and fusion power are good, almost limitless sources of energy without the pollution of present fuels or fission power.

SL: Assuming I know what solar power is, from the sun, what is fusion power?

JG: Fusion is the process that takes place in a hydrogen bomb, and within the sun, in which hydrogen atoms at very high temperatures fuse together, releasing energy. When this can be contained it could be used to generate usable energy such as electricity, and it wouldn't have any of the radioactive wastes that fission power has.

S.L.: I'm sort of confused about whether the energy shortage has beencaused mainly by the corporations and people using a lot of energy in this country, or whether in fact other countries and other people have been just using more gradually over the years and have also been contributing to the shortage. In other words, who uses the energy in the world? Is this country the primary user or are other countries?

JG: The U.S. uses about 35% of the energy in the world now, with only 6% of the population. But it's not the U.S. alone. There's a bloc of industrialized countries—the U.S., Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union Japan—which together contain only a quarter of the people in the world, but use 88% of the energy in the world. These are the countries that are industrialized and are putting a great strain on the earth's resources by their growth.

The remaining part of the world, three-quarters of the people, do not have this kind of consumption level, they don't have the same degree of industry and machines as we do in the U.S. or any of the industrialized countries.

So when the world consumption grows, most of that growth is cause by the growth of industrialized countries, and very little is caused by the so-called developing countries. In fact, the "developing" countries are not developing, but lagging along at a poverty level. It's the "developed" countries that are still adding more industry and putting a strain on the whole planet.

SL: Well, given all that, then, and the fact that there is some sort of a shortage, what about the proposed measures —I don't know if anyone considers them solutions—that Nixon and other people are suggesting, like to conserve fuel and possibly even to ration fuel. Are those reasonable steps? I mean should we go along with them, as people who have hopefully some sort of progressive political consciousness?

JG: Over the long run, there's no harm in driving slower, but that misses the point, because these measures are not even going to be effective to deal with the situation; they're totally inadequate in terms of lowering consumption, because industry is the greatest energy consumer of all. What Nixon really wants to do is take some visible steps to make it seem that the government is doing something, and to make people feel personally involved in "solving the energy crisis" or, feel that they are personally guilty if they don't cut back their consumption.

Really it's all a diversion from the real issues and an attempt to create a public mood of crisis in case Nixon decides he has to intervene militarily in the Middle East. For all the dramatic measures, Nixon basically doesn't want to interfere with the master plan of the corporations, which is to re-concentrate the wealth that has filtered down to the American people.□

Intercommunal News

PORTUGUESE POSITION IN MOZAMBIQUE "NEAR COLLAPSE"

Iain Christie, a staff writer of the Daily News *of Tanzania has recently returned from a two week march with FRELIMO fighters in Mozambique's Cabo Delgado Province. Having personally inspected schools and hospitals in the liberated areas and witnessed military operations, Iain Christie is able to relay to the world accurate, first-hand information about the advances the Mozambique revolutionary forces have recently made. Some of the latest successes of the liberation movement described in the following excerpt from an article which appeared originally in the* Guardian:



Peasant family offering food to a FRELIMO fighter in Tete Province.

The Portuguese position in Cabo Delgado province of Mozambique is nearing collapse and a Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) advance over their southern defense line may soon develop.

This is my conclusion after a two-week visit to Cabo Delgado with a FRELIMO force which included several members of the organization's top leadership.

With FRELIMO's president and armed forces commander Samora Machel, deputy commander Alberto - Joaquim Chipande and provincial military and political commander Pascoal Almeida, I inspected the movement's schools and hospitals, listened to a rocket attack on the Portuguese provincial military headquarters and witnessed aerial machine-gun attacks and bombing on the liberated zone.

It was in Cabo Delgado that the Mozambique war began in September, 1964, when 250 poorly armed FRELIMO guerrillas slipped across the Rovuma River from southern Tanzania and began attacking Portuguese military and police posts. They could march only at night and had to avoid populated areas, taking into account the fact that hardly any of the local people had even heard of FRELIMO.

A month ago, we sailed across the Rovuma in small boats, still under cover of darkeness, but in very different circumstances than nine years ago. Now my hosts were well-armed, many carrying modern automatic rifles—and were assured of a warm welcome from the local people everywhere.

Night marching was necessary only on the day we entered and the day we left. This is because Portuguese aircraft operate during daylight and could easily spot a column crossing the river.

But once this danger was passed we marched only during the day, invisible from the air for most of the time because we used bush trails with plenty of forest cover.

Only once did I see evidence that the Portuguese move on the ground—fresh vehicle tracks on one of their dirt roads near the Rovuma. The area was swarming with freedom fighters and I suspect the convoy would have been attacked by FRELIMO had it not been for my presence in the vicinity. I was on my way out at the time.

MOVEMENT HAZARDOUS

Ground movement is extremely hazardous for the colonial troops. In the area I visited there are no tarmac roads. Whenever we crossed one of the enemy's dirt carriageways, I was warned not to stray even slightly from the tract, since the roads are extensively mined by FRELIMO.

One such road connects the Portuguese military headquarters at Mueda and the post of Namatil near the Rovuma. The Portuguese tried to use it to supply Namatil last June but were stopped by FRELIMO ambushes and mines. They tried again in September but were mauled again. Eventually they were forced to airlift supplies to the outpost.

Attached to many of the Portuguese posts are "aldeamentos"—the Portuguese version of the "strategic hamlets" set up by U.S. forces in South Vietnam. According to the Portuguese, these camps serve two purposes. They are "beneficial" to the local people because of the services provided there and they prevent the people from aiding the guerrillas. This is a false picture on both counts.

First of all, although some services are provided in the aldeamentos, it is not the "services" people remember when they recall their experiences here. It is the barbed wire fences, the forced labor and the floggings that are meted out by the administrators.

One man who had escaped from the hamlet at Mueda post last July told me how, after he had been given the job of washing the soldier's clothes, a garment was lost and he had been blamed. He was summarily convicted by the troops and then beaten with the palmatoria, a thick wooden instrument favored by the Portuguese for inflicting particularly painful punishment.

All the descriptions I heard from people who had escaped from these places bore out FRELIMO's definition of them as concentration camps. And the fact that I saw so many former inmates of the aldeamentos is evidence of their growing ineffectiveness as a military strategy.

FRELIMO is now able to assault some of the biggest posts and release the people held in the aldeamentos which these posts guard. This has had a shattering effect on the colonialists. The liberation army is now regularly assaulting major posts with can ons, mortars and long-rang heavy artillery, forcing the Portu guese to withdraw and leave t aldeamentos unguarded. All th FRELIMO soldiers have to d then is advance and unlock th gates.

This in fact happened on Oc 15 while I was in Cabo Delgad when FRELIMO stormed the b post of Palma on the India Ocean coast for the first time Four days later some of th guerrillas involved arrived at FRELIMO center which I wa visiting and described the a sault. Apparently about 400 free dom fighters took part in th operation, which involved FR LIMO's long-range heavy art lery. The Portuguese fled und the artillery barrage witho returning fire—later they an nounced they had suffered "ma jor casulaties"—and FRELIM was able to free many Mozamb cans from the adjoining a deamento.

There were several of these bi attacks while I was in Cab Delgado. One evening I heard series of distant explosions an was told by commander Chipand that this was an attack on Mueda Sure enough, a few days later th Portuguese announced over th radio that Mueda had been hit b 122mm rockets.

Over the past 13 months, a FRELIMO attacks in Cabo De gado have grown dramatically i frequency and intensity, th Portuguese war effort appears t be wilting under the pressur FRELIMO is using mobility — trump card of any guerrill army—with skill and imagination. Portuguese retaliation consists largely of rather unsuccessful aerial attacks. I saw their planes almost every day and occasionally heard bombing, but normally, if they score a hit it is more good luck than anything else. □



IN MEMORIUM

AMILCAR CABRAL

ASSASSINATED: JAN. 20,1973

Amilcar Cabral was the first African to receive a university level education in the 400 year long Portuguese domination of his homeland Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. His education was not lost. As a young man, Cabral's work took him throughout the countryside; brought him into contact with the overwhelming poverty which the vast majority of his people were forced to endure. This education, too, made its impression. By the time assassin's bullets took his life, on January 20, 1973, Amilcar Cabral had re-written history: he had organized a revolutionary organization, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) and had led his Party and his people to the brink of liberation. Less than nine months after his death, the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau was formed.

Long Live the Spirit of Amilcar Cabral
Long Live the Republic of Guinea-Bissau

RHODESIAN "GOVT." BLAMES JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - The religious sect Jehovah's Witnesses are being blamed here for the increasing difficulty the White, racist minority regime of Ian Smith is having in recruiting Africans into the armed forces to fight the Zimbabwe liberation movement sweeping the country.

A recent issue of *The Rhodesia Herald* screamed in a front page headline; "Jehovah's Witness Plot on Call-up". The story reports a charge made by the Rhodesian "Minister of Defense" Howman before the House of Assembly last month, that Jehovah Witnesses had been canvassing African soldiers in the Rhodesian army and police to "induce them to object to continued military service."

The charge prompted another member of the Assembly, Rodney Simmonds, to demand that any African who refused military service on the basis of his belief in the teachings of the Jehovah's Witnesses should be publicly "caned" or whipped.

Introducing the issue in the Assembly, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the minority regime, Rollo Hayman, said there had recently been a number of convictions in the courts of people who refused, because of their religious convictions, to undergo their military commitments, and the Minister had decided to seek the power to deprive such people of their citizenship.

In an obvious slur against the religious group, Simmonds said, in the Assembly debate, that he had been convinced that men were joining what he called "this suspect cult" purely to evade their military commitment. He called whipping "a fitting punishment for a coward".

Recent expansion of the armed struggle throughout Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) has required the Smith regime to increase its call-up of young men to staff its army. However, it is growing increasingly difficult to induce Africans into the armed service, even with its relatively high wages and other benefits that tempt young, unemployed, poverty stricken Africans concentrated in the cities and towns.

More and more of these young Africans are leaving the cities and going into the "back country" to find and join the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army guerrillas.

Efforts are now being made to remove the education deferment and to require all students to undergo twelve months of military training before going into Rhodesian universities.□

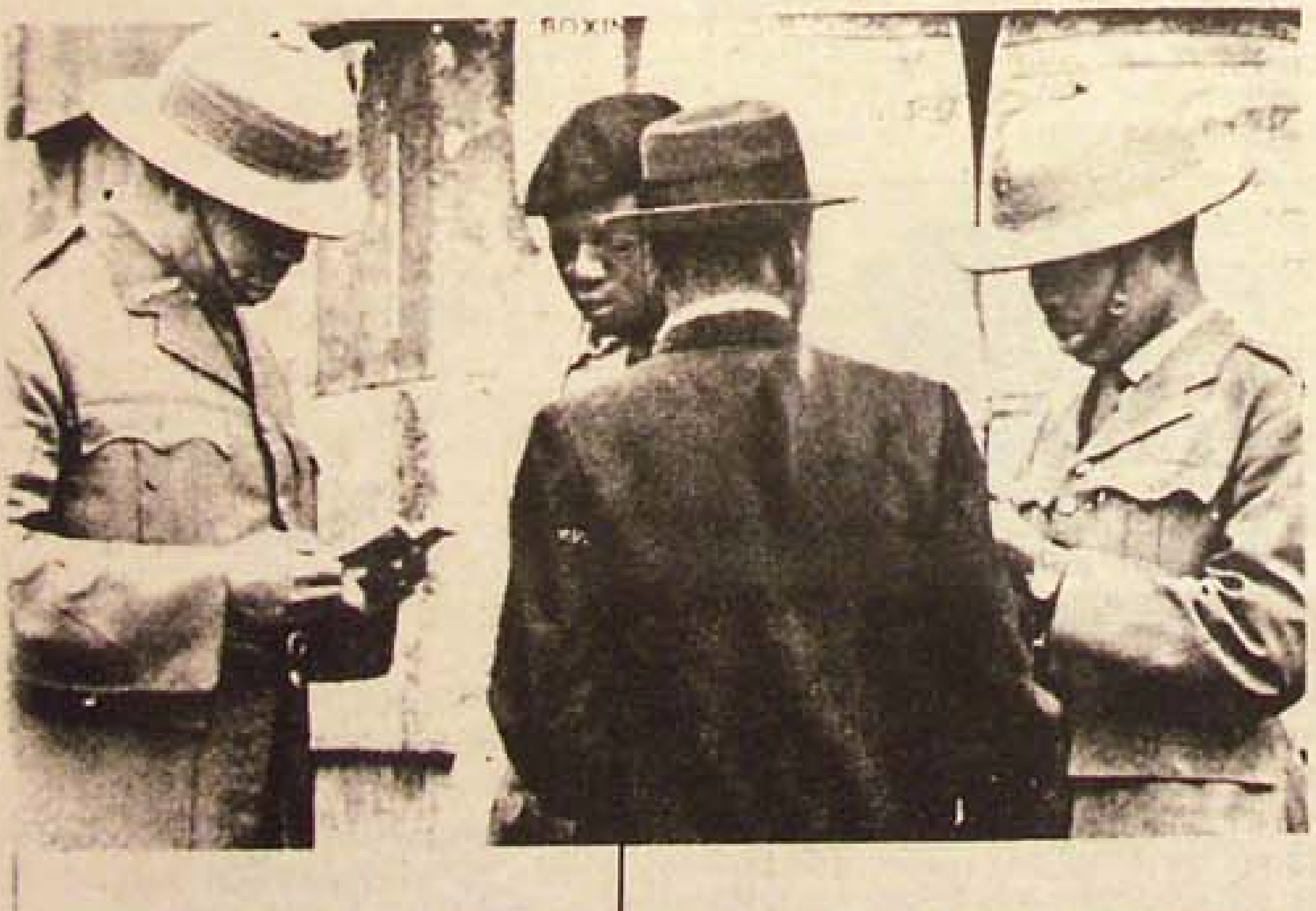


IAN SMITH, head of the racist minority government of Rhodesia

THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The following interview with Peter Katjavivi, the London Secretary of the South West African People's Organization [SWAPO], was conducted by the West German news service, Extra - Dienst. *The people of South West Africa [Namibia] are presently fighting for their independence from the illegal, colonial rule of the Union of South Africa, a white supremacist regime. SWAPO leads the people's struggle to rid their country of European and U.S. imperialist exploitation.*

QUESTION: During the past days the UN again vigorously insisted upon the sovereignty of Namibia. However, the corporations of the Western countries, including the German Federal Republic, show very little concern about it...



Africans' passbooks being checked under the racist laws of South Africa's White-minority government.

KATJAVIVI: Already in 1966 the UN reneged on the mandate concerning our homeland, which had been transferred by Great Britain to South Africa in 1920. This occurred when the world noticed what was happening in South Africa and what has been exported from there into Namibia. The politics of apartheid is an expression of imperialist exploitation. The demand for sovereignty for our country has been formally supported by most countries ever since, but in reality, capitalist countries like the USA, France, Great Britain and West Germany have different interests. The material interests of the corporations of these countries are more important to them than the people of Namibia and its freedom. Therefore we have to fight for our freedom and independence. For the demand of the UN remains inconsequential as long as it doesn't have a power behind it, carrying it out.

QUESTION: What does the struggle, the resistance, look like?

KATJAVIVI: It has many faces and a strong effect. Political resistance has already begun when a banner with the name of our country "Namibia" appears. This is an expresssion of our national pride. And in this way consciousness is raised further. There are strikes by workers and demonstrations by students. On a military level we have become active in the northern region of our country. It is there that we have the only connection with free Africa. There is the border of Zambia, which we are friends with. Our other neighbors are Angola, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), South Africa and the State of Botswana, which has aligned itself with South Africa.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

Africa In Focus

RHODESIA

FRELIMO guerrillas attacked two trains on two hundred miles of railroad tracks between Salisbury and the port town of Beira in Mozambique on December 31. This is the first such reported attack on this key rail line. The guerrillas first set a mine on the tracks, which derailed the train between Umtali and Beira, close to the Rhodesian border. They then attacked a rescue train with automatic weapons which resulted in the derailing of this train as well. Managers of the Rhodesian Railway confirmed the attack but refused to provide information concerning casualties.

SOUTH AFRICA

For the first time in its history the U.S. has signed a contract to import bituminous coal from South Africa. According to a report in the South African newspaper *Rand Daily Mail* the contract calls for delivery of 500,000 tons of bituminous (soft) coal, starting in April 1974, to the Gulf Stream power station in Mobile, Alabama. This will be followed by a further 500,000 tons in 1975 and one million tons in 1976.

NIGERIA

The Arab oil embargo imposed on the Western world has thrust Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation, into the forefront among oil producing nations throughout the world. Since the embargo, Nigeria has increased its oil output and expects to be exporting three million barrels a day by 1975. Already Nigeria has become the third most important source of oil and petroleum products to the U.S., behind Canada and Venezuela. Approximately 40 percent of Nigeria's two billion barrels of oil per day finds its way to the U.S.

ZAMBIA

The number of refugees in Zambia has almost doubled this year — from 17,000 to 33,000 — according to figures published in a United Nations report released in Lusaka. The refugees were mainly from South Africa, Namibia (Southwest Africa), Angola and Mozambique, the report said.

REGISTER TO VOTE

TANZANIA'S CAPITAL CITY BEING MOVED

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) - The government of Tanzania has announced that it is moving its capital from the coastal town of Dar es Salaam to centrally-located Dodoma. The move, inspired by President Julius Nyerere, is planned in order to bring the government "nearer to the bulk of the people, in order to see their needs better".

The plans call for Dodoma, now a small inland town, to blossom into a truly African showplace incorporating African ideas; not merely becoming another example of Western building designs. President Nyerere has long planned to relinquish governmental occupancy of Dar, with its colonial German and British heritage, to new surroundings that express the aspirations of progressive Tanzania.

Leading the way and providing an example, Prime Minister and Second Vice-President Rashidi Kawawa has announced the transfer of his office from Dar to Dodoma.

Dodoma is now basically undeveloped. The cost of its growth into a thriving capital is expected to be about $525 million.

Chief Adam Qapi, Tanzania's Minister for Capital Development, is scheduled to visit Pakistan this month to talk with the architects and planners there who are successfully developing Pakistan's new capital city Islamabad, built on a formerly bare northern mountain plain. The capital was moved from coastal Karachi.



Tanzanian President JULIUS NYERERE.

Crowded Dar es Salaam, meanwhile, is expected to remain the country's main commercial center. Government buildings here, once vacated, probably will be taken over for commercial expansion.□

GUINEA BISSAU LIBERATION

"WE BASE OUR STRUGGLE ON REALITIES" - COMMANDER OF PAIGC VISITS BAY AREA



President LUIZ CABRAL [center] at the proclamation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

MEETS WITH MEDIA WORKERS

(Berkeley, Calif.) - "The most valuable lesson we have learned from our experience in winning the liberation of Guinea-Bissau is to base our struggle on the realities of our people and the realities of our country."

These are the words of John Silva, a commander in the liberation forces of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), who paid a brief visit to the Bay Area last week. Brother Silva is in the U.S. to rally support for U.S. recognition of the newly-proclaimed Republic of Guinea-Bissau in West Africa.

Brother Silva met with a small invited group of Third World and movement media workers in the home of a member of the East Bay Liberation Support Movement during a busy four-day stay in the Bay Area, to answer questions and discuss the current situation in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Brother Silva said that up to the present, 72 countries had recognized the new republic and he emphasized that he understood that U.S. recognition would only come as a result of the pressure of the American people on the U.S. government to recognize it.

Brother Silva said he had had contacts with the Black Congressional Caucus and certain legislators, all of whom had expressed support for U.S. recognition. He was hopeful that his trip would encourage more Americans to speak out for recognition.

Brother Silva said that the PAIGC at present was in full control of 72% of the land area of Guinea-Bissau. He said that 350,000 persons inhabitated the liberated area and that the PAIGC also administered to some 150,000 refugees living in bordering states. The total African population of Guinea-Bissau is 600,000.

Asked about the territory still be liberated, Brother Silva said that the countryside was totally in the hands of the PAIGC. It is the towns only in which the Portuguese still hold temporary sway. He said that political and resistance activity among the African people of the towns and cities is rapidly developing and that PAIGC is playing a leading role in its devlopment.

He said that the republic's government is expecting soon the emergence of wholesale political and economic resistance within the cities and towns which will

CONTINUED ON PAGE 16

ZIMBABWE

RHODESIAN TROOPS TERRORIZE AFRICAN POPULACE

(Lusaka, Zambia) - The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) reports that puppet African soldiers in the rebel army of the minority, white settler regime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia, have been disguised as ZANU freedom fighters and are engaged in a terror campaign against Africans in rural areas.

The *Zimbabwe News*, official organ of ZANU, writes that members of the Rhodesia African Rifles and Security Services, a special branch section, go among the people demanding food and assistance at gun point. After obtaining assistance they then turn against the people and murder them in cold blood.'

ZANU points out that these actions are being taken in a desperate attempt to check the advancing onslaught of ZANLA's (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army) successful offensive. "Having hopelessly failed to dislodge ZANLA from the war zones in the north, northern and northeastern regions of Zimbabwe", writes *Zimbabwe News*, "the rebel regime has seen fit to intimidate, terrorize, indiscriminately kill and commit acts of savagery against the African people."

Referring to what the Rhodesian regime called the Winter Offensive (mopping-up) operation, which was supposed to clean up once and for all the ZANLA guerrillas, *Zimbabwe News* writes: "Gross underrating and miscalculation of ZANU's military and political strength in the war zone and an underestimation of ZANU's political influence among the people paid off heavily against enemy forces during the Winter Operation.

"The enemy's mopping up operations became a costly exercise because little did the enemy know that after working a thorough mental revolution among the masses, ZANLA forces had become well entrenched in nearly one-third of Zimbabwe, and that that revolution transformed itself into physical action capable of sustaining the ZANLA offensive for a very long time."

Giving examples of reports brought to ZANLA forces of brutal attacks made against villagers and then official communiques issued in Rhodesia blaming the brutality on ZANLA guerrilla forces, *Zimbabwe News* writes that these cruel deeds are perpetrated "in the hope that the local people will be frightened and thus stop aiding ZANLA units in the area". But instead of being frightened, the people went straight to ZANLA forces in the area and reported the incidents.

In addition, Rhodesian troops have gone all out in a plundering and ravaging campaign against the African peasants, reports *Zimbabwe News*. The crop and food granaries of the peasants are being destroyed in an effort to starve them out and hence to starve out the ZANLA forces which depend on the peasants for their sustenance.

Grinding mills and trading posts are being closed down and destroyed and cattle are impounded and sold to White settlers at a fraction of their market price or killed. *Zimbabwe News* carried pictures of slaughtered cattle that could not be transported to market for "sale" to White settlers that had been killed by Rhodesian army troops in the Mt. Darwin area.

"Despite these terror tactics", writes *Zimbabwe News*, "the war goes on. The people of Zimbabwe, united in blood and death against the common enemy under ZANU shall win. It might take a long time; but victory is certain."□

GOVT. MUST DISCLOSE WIRE TAP

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

um and an affidavit which conceded that the government engaged in "illegal wiretapping both before and after December, 1967". The plaintiffs also asserted that "on information and belief" they were subjected to unlawful surveillance.

Citing FBI testimony — delivered under oath — that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammad were wiretapped, the suit said that because the plaintiffs shared some "similar goals" with these leaders, the plaintiffs believed that they, too, have been under unlawful surveillance.

At the time the suit was filed the government claimed that it was not compelled to release wiretap information on the grounds of national security. The suit is a constitutional challenge against the Justice Department doctrine that wiretapping of radical and progressive political activists without judicial approval is justified because of "national security".

As a result of the court ruling, the government must now provide, within 30 days of the date the court decision was handed down, detailed information about which plaintiffs were tapped, when they were tapped, the duration of the taps and the reasons such taps were deemed necessary.

PLAINTIFFS

Five of the original nine groups in the suit subsequently withdrew from the complaint, leaving as plaintiffs: The Southern Conference Education Fund; Catholic Priests Fellowship; War Resisters League and the Black Panther Party.

The eight citizen plaintiffs are David Dellinger, Rennie Davis, Tom Hayden, Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman, John Froines, Lee Weiner and Bobby Seale. Plaintiffs' attorneys included William M. Kunstler and Charles Garry, who was orginally scheduled to represent Brother Bobby Seale, but was hospitalized at the time of the tumultous 1969 Chicago trial.

In addition to the $100 per day fine under the Omnibus Crime Act, the suit seeks: monetary payment for plaintiffs' damages; a court declaration stating that the policies, practices and judicial limitations advocated by the defendants violated the First, Fourth and Ninth Amendments to the Constitution; a permanent injunction prohibiting all electronic surveillance of the plaintiffs and the class they represent; and a court order to compel the criminal prosecution of John Mitchell, J. [illegible] in the case.



Meeting of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands [PAIGC].

GUINEA–BISSAU COMMANDER VISITS HERE

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

result in the total collapse of the Portuguese hold over the cities and towns and their incorporation within the new republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Brother Silva emphasized that the Organization of African Unity, the socialist countries and the Scandinavian countries had firmly supported the struggle of PAIGC and were continuing to provide aid and assistance to the new republic, still engaged in confronting the Portuguese army.

With reference to the Cape Verde Islands, Brother Silva pointed out that they are a group of 10 islands some 400 miles from the Guinea-Bissau coast. He said that PAIGC worked underground in the Cape islands and that the struggle for liberation of the islands from the Portuguese was intentisfying.

He pointed out that the people of the islands live in great poverty and that the Portuguese had done nothing to improve the conditions of their lives. Evidence of the growth of the liberation movement in the islands is the fact that at present some 100 political prisoners are imprisoned on the islands. "Cape Verde is part of Guinea-Bissau and will be incorporated into the new republic when independence is won", Brother Silva said.

Asked the impact on the movement of the assassination of Amilcar Cabral last year, Brother Silva said: "Our answer was the launching of a general offensive, militarily, inside the country and on the propaganda front both inside and outside of the country." He said that Cabral's death was a great shock, but that as a revolutionary party, "We were prepared to carry on the struggle, and that is what we did".

Asked what Americans could do in support of the new republic, Brother Silva advised, "Inform Americans about our republic, tell them the truth which the general Western press is not interested in doing." Also, he suggested writing letters to our legislators urging recognition and he appealed for material and financial support to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. "We need everything in our efforts at national reconstruction", Brother Silva concluded.

(Contributions to the new republic can be sent to P.A.I.G.C., P.O. 298, Conakry, Guinea, West Africa.)□

U.S. SUBS SIGNAL "SUNK BY ENEMY"

(Washington, D.C.) - The threat of nuclear war was raised on two occasions when U.S. Polaris submarines in the Mediterranean signaled that they had been "sunk by enemy action". Les Aspin, a congressman from Wisconsin, reported that the subs sent off general military alerts which were taken to be true until the subs themselves surfaced and reported that their emergency transmitters had malfunctioned.

□□□□

BIGTIME SPORTS: GATEWAY TO BLACK MANHOOD?

RACISM, FEW BLACK OWNERS, MARK REALITY OF SPORTS "PENNY WORLD OF DREAMS"

The following article was sent to THE BLACK PANTHER by Dr. Paul Hoch. Dr. Hoch formerly taught at Oberlin College in Ohio, alongside leading Black coaches Tommie Smith and Cass Jackson. He is the author of Rip Off The Big Game *[Doubleday Anchor, 1973] a study of racism in big-time spectator sports. He currently teaches sport sociology at Montreal's Dawson College.*

"Sports have been one of the most positive building blocks of American life," the old story goes. "It has brought generation after generation of new immigrants a pathway to fame and fortune, given them heroes to identify with, forced the general public to recognize their accomplishments, and thereby helped to unite the American nation." Today, with so many star Black athletes in the limelight, mass spectator sports is being pushed as some sort of gateway to Black manhood and salvation. But is it?

Such teams as the Brooklyn Dodgers of the 1950s, the Harlem Globetrotters of the '50s and '60s and Wilt Chamberlain's Los Angeles Lakers of the late '60s and early '70s, have attracted millions of Black fans and, for many, formed a focus for hopes of Black emancipation. Nevertheless all of these teams, and indeed all other major American sports teams, have been owned by White millionaires and not by the Black community.

SOUL BROTHERS

Try as they might, few Blacks would ever mistake such men as Walter O'Malley or Abe Saperstein or Jack Kent Cooke for being anything like soul brothers. Moreover, while teams like the old Dodgers or the Lakers or even today's New York Knickerbockers have been, to a great extent, dominated by Black stars, they have also been quite careful to maintain a sizeable percentage of White athletes in the starting line-up to give White fans something to identify with.

Indeed Berkeley sociologist Harry Edwards has speculated that one reason for the decline in popularity of boxing relative to ice hockey is that, while the former has become an almost all-Black affair that a declining number of Whites care to watch, hockey is still virtually lily white. Moreover, even in boxing, one comes across comparatively few Black owners and managers. And while white entrepreneurs got rich off them, some of the most famous Black fighters such as Joe Louis have somehow ended up with little more than a tin cup.

"You know those junkyards along the highways in Jersey", says noted former Cleveland Indians outfielder Larry Doby who was the first Black to be allowed into American League baseball. "Well, they have scrap heaps just like that for athletes—most of them Black. Black athletes are cattle. They're raised fed, sold and killed...Baseball moved me toward the front of the bus, and it let me ride there as long as I could run. And then it told me to get off at the back door."

A few years after he made this remark, Doby managed to land a coaching job with the Montreal Expos. He was one of the very few lucky ones. Most ex-Black athletes end up right back in the ghetto. Indeed, one Black starting center for the Los Angeles Lakers ended up with a janitor's job in the Lakers' arena.

Nevertheless, you say, some of those Black athletic slaves have manged to make themselves a lot of bread. (This applies also to their White owners, who have not only made far more bread, but have sustained far fewer injuries.)

While a couple of thousand Black athletes have managed to make themselves sometimes quite healthy livings out of pro sport, and a few may even have become moderately rich, if one looks at the balance of payments as a whole between the Black community and the White sports ownership, it turns out that over the past two decades approximately $20,000,000 has been transferred out of the pockets of Black fans and into the pockets of the O'Malleys and Sapersteins and Cookes. The Black community certainly won't get rich this way.



Black atheletes play a major role in the sports world but there are no Black team owners and very few Black managers.

But at least it's given Blacks something to look up to, you say? And, it's quite true, that in every Black ghetto in the country there are literally hundreds of thousands of Black kids bouncing basketballs and beating each other up in sandlot football games, all trying to climb the golden ladder that leads to a pro sports career.

The problem is that, at best, only a few thousand will ever make it. For every one who does make it, perhaps ten thousand others will have pretty much wasted their time, and often neglected their educations, chasing an unreadable dream. Thus, for these kids, the channeling of Blacks into the sportsworld's penny world of dreams will have helped to perpetuate an oppressive system.

Anyway, those who don't make it can presumably become good fans, cheering on those Blacks who do. And yet, though pro sports may have provided an arena in which Black fans could vicariously act out their well-merited aggressions against Whites by cheering on other Blacks and booing Whites, it certainly did little, if anything, to deal with the actual grievances that caused these aggressions.

Indeed the average Black fan spends so much time and energy worrying about the exploits of Black "heroes" that he has little time to deal with his own exploitation in his own factory and community. Hence, the gladiator matches of modern pro sports have, in this sense, become for many a new kind of bread and circuses, keeping us well entertained, but often diverting us from the real problems.

Sports fans have rarely been found at the head of the Black liberation movement. Nevertheless, the problem of White upper class domination of the ownership of professional sports is very similar to the main problems of White domination faced by Blacks in every other area of American life.

Instead of being "diverted" solely by Black "heroes" (who are basically paid workers for White owners), Black fans should start demanding a representative degree of Black ownership. It's long overdue. ◻

POEMS

We walked and talked and time
ticked on.
We recruited more people to talk
and went on.
Once in a while we got high,
And we lost time.
We made plans as time went on.
And then the time came
And we wondered where the time
went
As we looked out of the gates
Of Concentration camps.

Vicki
Los Angeles, Calif.

****

From the Dithyramb*
to Mao tse-tung

The black panther is a diamond
in the dark setting of Amerika
a star in abyssmal night sky.
She is come to be
as a beautiful woman, hauty and
evil.
I love you, beautiful panther
devine feline.
We peoples of the earth
pour our ecstasy into you
that this dynamite explode
with cataclysmic violence and
power
rendering fascism to the depths
of that hell which it created.

Power to the People
David Neville
Chicago, Ill.

(*dithyramb: any wildly emotional, enthusiastic song, speech or writing...)

THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 14

QUESTION: Could you give us concrete examples of the resistance struggle?

KATJAVIVI: This year in April there was an extended attack made against the military base, Caprivi, where we took over a radio station and a lot of weapons. They were weapons from NATO.

QUESTION: What are the existing civil resistance activities?

KATJAVIVI: I would like to remind you of the big strike, which started in December 1971, and was carried out under extreme pressure until March 1972. The colonial masters got quite frightened when all of a sudden everything came to a standstill. The people no longer accepted their subservient roles and therefore the profits diminished.

QUESTION: But the masters of the plants and farms certainly didn't just sit there and watch what was going on...

KATJAVIVI: The White masters were frightened and thus turned to terror as a means of ending the strike. Striking workers were locked up, whipped and deported to concentration camps.

Anyway, in 1973, between May and September, 400 persons were arrested because of resistance activities. They were tortured and taken to the concentration camp Omindamba, situated on the Angolan border. In the market places of our towns and villages people are whipped. They rebelled against the regime of the master race. The whips are put into salted water before use. In this way the victims receive especially painful wounds. The salt gets into the open wounds, which can lead to dangerous infections.

Women are whipped in public. It is horrible to see what is happening. It is an expression of the weakness of our oppressors. To suffer this is the price which our people has to pay on its way towards freedom.□

POLICE SURROUND B.P.P. OFFICE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

the Black Panther Party's office for a 19-year-old woman who had never before been arrested.

The reason for the attack is even more bizarre. George T. Hart, newly appointed police chief of Oakland, is trying to establish a reputation. The victim of his ego drive to fame is intended to be the Black community. The pattern is clear.

When Hart was first appointed to office, a police helicopter mysteriously crashed in a ball of flames killing both police on board. The National Safety Board, (NSB), has recently confirmed that a faulty propeller shaft was the cause of the crash. Yet, Hart's immediate response was to announce a $20,000 reward for the "murderers"—believed to be Black — who "assassinated" his men.

A few months later the first police reports regarding the murder of Oakland school superintendant Marcus Foster, described the suspects as "Black men wearing Black leather jackets". Two days later, the police stated that the suspects were "tan or olive" in complexion and that one of the suspects was probably a woman.

If Hart had in truth only wanted to arrest 19-year-old Naomi Williams, he could have very easily contacted anyone of a number of Black policemen known to have voted for Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown in last year's city elections and perhaps they would have made a simple telephone call and resolved the problem. The informal court agreement, therefore, could have been honored. Yet, Chief of Police Hart wanted to have it his way...with force.

The Black Panther Party condemns this unwarranted and unnecessary act of police harassment of the People's Free Medical Research Health Clinics' Sickle Cell Anemia Foundation volunteers. Freeing ourselves from the fast-growing and maniacal police state includes upholding our right to free and decent, preventative health care as well as combating the murder and brutality of racist police and their staged, dangerous provocations. We applaud the Son of Man Temple's moves to fight Sickle Cell Anemia in our communities and its legal battles to maintain the rights of us all.□

ALL CHILDREN ARE INVITED TO THE INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE FOR AFTER SCHOOL PROGRAMS:

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JOHN COLTRANE LIVES

MARYLAND POLICE DISCRIMINATION CHALLENGED

(Baltimore, Md.) - The first employment discrimination suit brought by the Justice Department against a state police force was resolved recently when a consent decree was obtained requiring the Maryland State Police force to hire more women and Blacks as state troopers.

The decree requires the state of Maryland to increase the hiring of Black troopers so as to achieve the goal of a 16 percent Black force within five years. In addition one third of those hired from the present state trooper eligibility list must be Black.□

PRICE OF BEEF UP 33%

(Washington, D.C.) - While your mind has been on the energy crisis and the Nixon crisis, the wholesale price of beef has taken wings again, soaring up 33% in the last 8 weeks. On December 3, the price for a live steer was $37 per hundred pounds; on January 11 it was $49.50. But take heart things are not so bad as last August when the price was as high as $56.38 per hundred.

Although retail prices have only reflected this newest price surge with nickel and dime increases in over-the-counter prices, the chain stores are cutting back in their purchases from wholesalers in anticipation of consumer resistance □

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children a free nourishing hot breakfast every school morning.

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

DAVID HILLIARD PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

Provides free shoes made at the David Hilliard Free Shoe Factory to the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.

FREE PEST CONTROL PROGRAM

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.



Nelson Fields
"Jo-Nel"

BLACK BUSINESSMAN OF THE YEAR

On Sunday, January 20, 1974, the Son of Man Temple presented its 1st Annual Black Businessman of the Year Award to Brother Nelson Fields [above]. In making the presentation of the award, Ms. Elaine Brown commented: "...Because, Nelson Fields, you have demonstrated in the highest form, through your actions, that you have neither forsaken nor forgotten your own, because you have set the finest example of a Black businessman, and because you have shown true love for and to your people, we are proud to present you with this Black Businessman of the Year Award." Standing out among Brother Fields many charitable activities is his weekly donations to the Free Breakfast for School Children Program.

LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides Legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT [S.A.F.E.] PROGRAM

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

Provides news and information about the world and Black and oppressed communities.

INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS

Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Intercommunal Youth Institite.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental faculties at the earliest ages.

A SUNDAY MUSICAL AT THE COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTER

"I' VE NEVER HAD A BETTER TIME IN MY LIFE"

SEE STORY PAGE 4

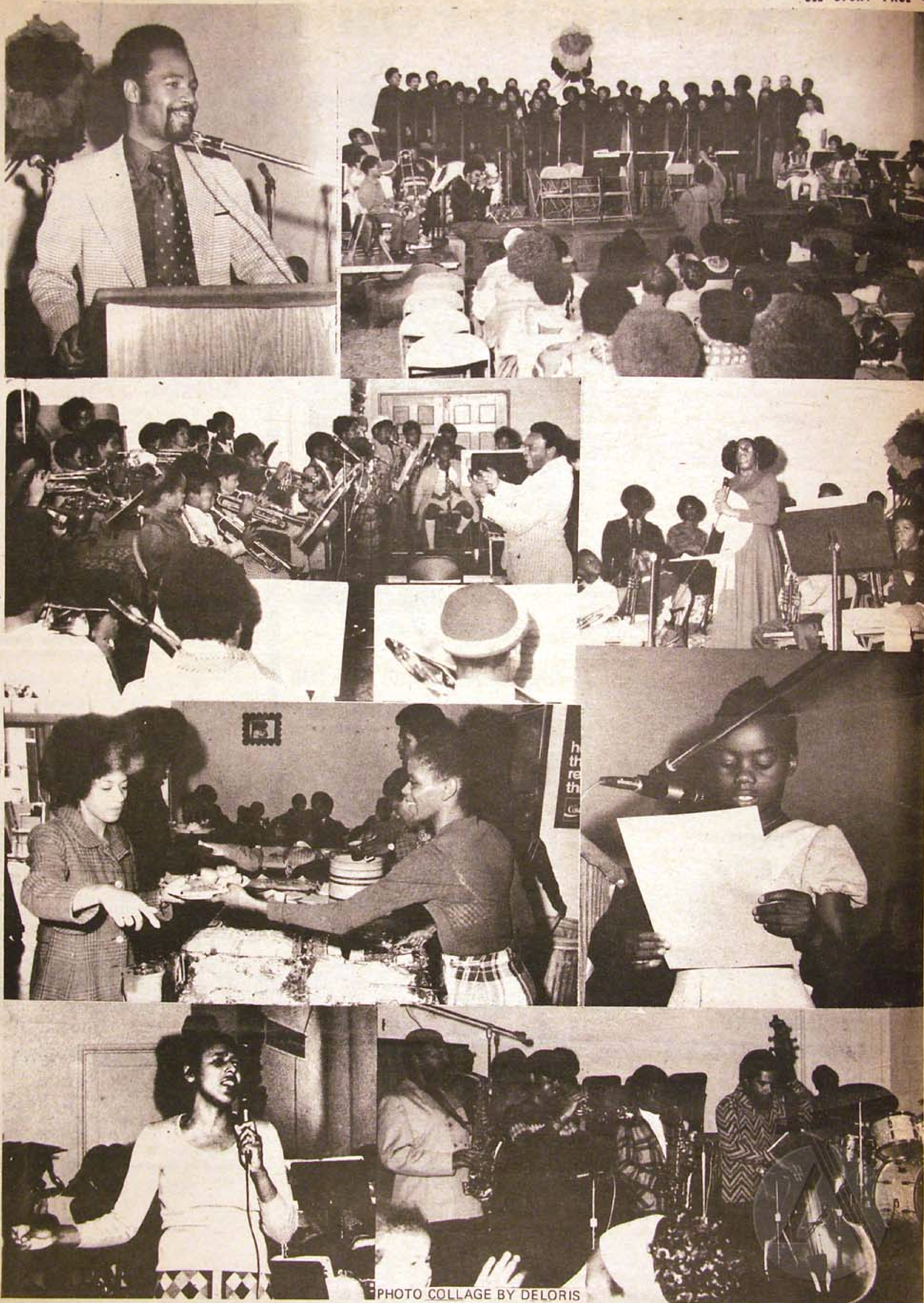


PHOTO COLLAGE BY DELORIS